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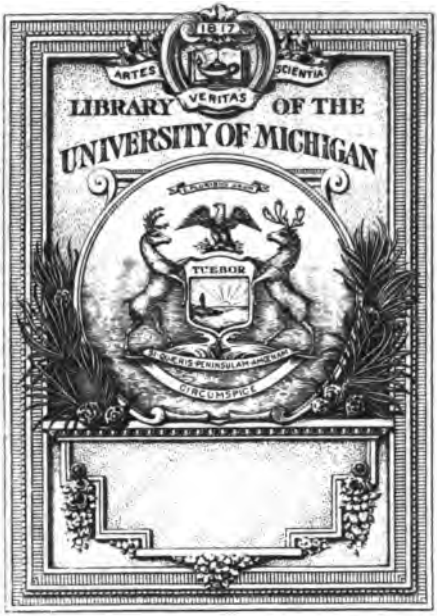
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MILTON'S PARADISE LOST,

BOOKS I. AND II.

MILTON'S

PARADISE LOST,

BOOKS I. AND II.

EDITED WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY

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CONTENTS.

	PAGE
INTRODUCTION,	vii
AUTHOR'S PREFACE ON "THE VERSE,"	xxxi
TEXT OF THE POEM:—	
BOOK I.	1
BOOK II.	25
NOTES,	55
APPENDIX,	139

12-3-43 FW
Recd,
247

INTRODUCTION.

In Milton's life *Paradise Lost* may be regarded as the great central point, to which everything else is subordinate. All through his youth and his prime of manhood he was consciously or unconsciously preparing himself to write a great epic poem. Very slowly his great purpose assumed definite shape in his mind. The poems in which he first showed his poetic genius were lyric and dramatic, but early in life he had conceived the idea of rivalling the fame of Homer and Virgil, and becoming the epic representative of his native land and of modern Christendom. At first he meditated a national epic, based upon the legends of prehistoric England. In his youth his mind was attracted by the picturesque pageantry of chivalry and romance. "I betook me," he writes in the *Apology for Smectymnus* "among those lofty fables and romances which recount in solemn cantos the deeds of knighthood." The poet's wanderings in the fields of old romance have left their traces distinctly in some of the most gorgeous passages of his epic poetry. At one time they seemed likely to determine his ultimate choice. Milton was inclined to follow the example of Spenser

and take the mythical King Arthur as his hero, in which case the

> "Tilting furniture, emblazoned shields,
> Impresses quaint, caparisons and steeds,
> Bases and tinsel trappings, gorgeous knights
> At joust and tournament,"

instead of being the occasional ornaments of his verse would have been its continual subject matter. However, this project, though seriously entertained for the time, was not of very long continuance. When once the Great Rebellion had broken out under leaders animated by determined hostility against the feudalism of the middle ages, it was not likely that a zealous partisan of Puritanism and Republicanism, such as Milton was, should have devoted his genius to the celebration of the exploits in war or love of fictitious knights. To have done so while the strife was raging, or during the period when the leaders of the republican party were maintaining with difficulty their hard won supremacy, would have appeared frivolous in the extreme, and to have reverted to such a task during the dark days of the Restoration would have been an insult to himself and his fallen party, betokening a callous indifferentism, which was far from being a characteristic of the poet. Indeed, as long as his genius could more directly serve the great cause of political and religious liberty, he seems to have regarded all poetry as a matter of very secondary importance. It was however a great sacrifice to forego the inspirations of his poetical genius, and divert all his literary powers to the uncongenial task of writing despatches and controversial pamphlets on the burning questions of the day, in the composition of which he had to lower himself to the

level of his pedantic opponents. We know from his own writings that, if he had consulted his own taste, he would have kept out of the controversial fray. In his *Reason of Church Government*, published in 1642, after revealing in detail his high ambition to devote his whole heart and soul and life to the composition of such a poem as posterity should not willingly let die, he informs his readers that he would not have disclosed so much beforehand, "but that he trusted thereby to make it manifest with what small willingness he interrupted the pursuit of no less hopes than those, and left a calm and pleasing solitariness, fed with cheerful and confident thoughts, to embark in a troubled sea of noises and hoarse disputes; from beholding the bright countenance of truth in the quiet and still air of delightful studies to come into the dim reflection of hollow antiquities sold by the seeming bulk, and there be fain to club quotations with men whose learning and belief lay in marginal stuffings." However, in spite of his aversion to the taskwork that duty dictated, he devoted himself to it with a thoroughness that necessitated a long postponement of his most cherished designs. In the whole period between his return from Italy in 1639 and the death of Cromwell in 1658, Milton gave the world no original poetry except a few sonnets, many of which were directly suggested by the stirring events of the day. Nevertheless his great purpose, though its completion was indefinitely deferred, was never entirely banished from his mind. In such leisure as his busy life afforded, he was still trying to determine the subject of his great work and the form in which it was to be composed. Out of the many possible subjects that

seemed suitable to his genius he at last chose *Paradise Lost.* Even after the theme of the poem had been settled, it still remained to determine the form. At first the poet was inclined to write a drama upon the subject he had chosen, and Satan's address to the Sun, in the beginning of the fourth book, was originally intended to be the commencement of a tragedy. But, as time went on, he changed his mind, and came to the conclusion that an epic poem would be the best means of delivering to his contemporaries and posterity all the higher and brighter ideas that had not ceased to revolve in his brain all the time during which he seemed wholly given up to the vituperation of his religious and political adversaries. Thus, finally, he determined to write a great epic poem on the subject of the loss of Paradise, which he commenced in 1658, at a time when the appointment of Andrew Marvell as joint-secretary made it no longer appear imperatively necessary for him to devote all his energies to his official work.

A great deal has been written to show that Milton in the construction of *Paradise Lost* borrowed so much as seriously to detract from his claim to the credit of originality. The best answer to each particular charge of this kind is to show how very widely the critics disagree with one another in their attempts to trace the plot to previous authors. Almost every commentator has his own candidate to bring forward for the honour of having been copied by Milton, and is therefore inclined to disallow the similar claims put forward in favour of others by rival critics. Voltaire, writing in 1727, declares that the idea of *Paradise Lost* was derived from a comedy called *Adamo,* written by one Andreini, a player,

which Milton saw performed at Florence. The subject of the play was the fall of man; the actors, God, the Devils, the Angels, Adam, Eve, the Serpent, Death, and the seven mortal Sins. Milton, according to Voltaire, "pierced through the absurdity of that performance to the hidden majesty of the subject, which, being altogether unfit for the stage, yet might be (for the genius of Milton and his only) the foundation of an epic poem. He took from that ridiculous trifle the first hint of the noblest work which human imagination has ever attempted, and which he executed more than twenty years after." In spite of Dr. Johnson's decision that Voltaire's story is wild and unauthorized, a comparison of the plot of *Paradise Lost* with the contents of the play of Andreini seems to show that the great English poet did not altogether disdain to borrow from the work of this rather obscure Italian playwright. Besides a general resemblance between the principal incidents and the characters represented, there are some traces of imitation in detail. Thus, from Mr. Hayley's analysis of the *Adamo*, we learn that in Act IV. Scene III. of Andreini's poem, "Infernal Cyclops, summoned by Lucifer, make a new world at his command," and it is natural to suppose that this suggested to Milton the building of Pandemonium by Mammon. Besides Andreini's *Adamo* there were, as Mr. Hayley shows, several other poems published in Italy before or about the time of Milton's visit to that country, the subjects of which were the wars of the Angels and the fall of Adam. Among these was a poem called the *Angeleida*, in which the invention of artillery is attributed to the fallen angels. This hint not improbably suggested to Milton the chief

incident of his second heavenly battle, and he may have incurred similar obligations to some other of the Italian poems mentioned by Mr. Hayley. However, as of most of them only the names survive, it can only be said with certainty that the subject of *Paradise Lost* was a favourite theme in Italy at the time of Milton's visit there, and it is likely that, when he had once conceived the idea of writing a great poem on the loss of Paradise, he would have taken note of any incidents or ideas likely to be useful, that might be suggested by the Italian writers who had chosen the same subject, and not only by Italian writers but by writers in all the many continental languages with which Milton was acquainted. Two modern critics, Mr. Gosse and Mr. Edmundston, find the chief original of *Paradise Lost* not in Italy, but farther north in Holland. Vondel, who is considered the greatest of Dutch poets, published in 1654, four years before the date usually assigned to the commencement of *Paradise Lost*, a fine drama called *Lucifer*. As Vondel had already become famous by his previous works, and as the treaty of alliance concluded between England and Holland in 1654 had renewed friendly relations between the two republics, it is likely that Vondel's poem may have been known to Milton soon after its publication. Mr. Gosse declares that the great resemblance between Vondel's *Lucifer* and Milton's *Paradise Lost* can hardly be accounted for as the result of accident. Mr. Edmundston finds among Vondel's plays the original not only of *Paradise Lost* but also of *Samson Agonistes*. On the other hand, it must be remembered that, though *Paradise Lost* may not have been regularly commenced in its present form before

1658, the plan of the poem had been thought out many years earlier, and also, that Vondel's *Lucifer* only covers a small part of the subject matter of *Paradise Lost*, namely, the rebellion of Satan and his war with the faithful angels. These facts are strong evidence against the belief that *Paradise Lost* as a whole can be founded upon Vondel's drama. As for resemblance in individual passages, the same evidence adduced to show that Milton borrowed from Vondel would probably, if accepted, lead us to believe that Vondel was in like manner indebted to previous writers. Thus Milton's well-known line,

"Better to reign in hell than serve in heaven,"

is very like two lines of Vondel's. But this proves little; it may be paralleled not only in Vondel, but also in Fletcher and Crashaw, and very closely in Stafford's *Niobe*, a prose work quoted by Todd, in which Satan declares that God drove him to hell, in order that he "who could not obey in heaven might command in hell." Stafford's *Niobe* was published in 1611, and so, if close similarity of language and thought in a later writer is enough to prove literary obligation, Vondel's verse must be indebted to the prose of Stafford. It is, of course, not impossible that Milton may have consciously borrowed this and other ideas from Vondel in the same way as he has deliberately borrowed from Homer and Virgil; but such obligations are very hard to establish, unless the poet chooses himself to manifest them beyond doubt by the words he employs.

Among the English writers whom Milton is supposed to have imitated, the first in order of time and importance is Caedmon. This Anglo-Saxon poet composed,

in the seventh century, a poem in which is described the fall of the angels, the creation, and the expulsion of Adam and Eve from Paradise. The poem was printed at Amsterdam in 1655, and must have been known before that date in its MS. form to the learned in England. As Milton wrote a history of England down to the time of the Norman Conquest, it is probable that he was familiar with Anglo-Saxon literature, and he can hardly be supposed to have entirely overlooked Caedmon's poem, which from the character of its subject matter would naturally be very interesting to him. No one can read Caedmon's poetry without being continually reminded of *Paradise Lost.* Let any one refer to the extracts given from his poem by Mr. Turner in his *History of the Anglo-Saxons,* or even to the short extract quoted at the commencement of Chambers's *English Literature,* and he will see reason to believe that Milton owes much to his Anglo-Saxon predecessor. In fact, the two poets, though born in distant ages and at very different stages of civilization, are not entirely unlike one another. If we could take away from *Paradise Lost* the melodious flow of verse and the rich variety of illustrations culled from all past literatures, there would still be left a narrative of great power which would read very like the poetry of Caedmon. Therefore it is difficult to help thinking that Milton's mind was thoroughly saturated with the spirit of that early poet, and that to this Anglo-Saxon original Milton was to a considerable extent indebted for the frame-work of his epic. The chief fact that militates against this conclusion is that Milton never appears to have mentioned Caedmon's name in the whole range of his writings. Whether this omission was due

to the practice of an age in which literary men were not in the habit of going far out of their way to acknowledge obligations to previous writers, or whether Milton thought he really owed no more to Caedmon than to the host of intermediate writers who had told the story of the beginning of the world, or whether after all Milton was totally unacquainted with Caedmon's works, is a question that will probably never be decided. All that we can say is that, as far as the uncertain evidence of close similarity in treatment and thought can be trusted, *Paradise Lost* owes more to Caedmon's poem than to any other original. So much can hardly be said in favour of the claims put forward in behalf of the *Locustae*, a Latin poem by Phineas Fletcher, published in 1627. The speech of Lucifer in this poem undoubtedly contains several ideas that recur in the speeches of Milton's fallen angels, and the striking language of one passage seems to be distinctly imitated (see ii. 624). But this is far from being enough to make us accept the unconfirmed story that Milton "ingenuously confessed that he owed his immortal work of *Paradise Lost* to Mr. Fletcher's *Locustae*." Dunster tries to show that Sylvester's translation of a poem on Creation by the French poet, Du Bartas, contributed more to the production of *Paradise Lost* than any other work. As this translation was very popular when Milton was a boy, and was published in the street in which his father lived, it is natural to assume that Milton in his childhood may have known it well, and that many of Sylvester's thoughts and expressions may have been deeply impressed on his mind and reproduced afterwards. It is also possible that Sylvester's poem may have first distinctly suggested to him the

idea of writing a great poem on a religious subject. This however is mere conjecture. Even if Sylvester had never translated Du Bartas, Milton's choice of subject could be sufficiently accounted for by his own character, the theological spirit of the age, and the practice of an immense number of his literary predecessors in England, Italy, France, Spain, and Portugal. There seems to have been in the many poems treating of the fall of man so much similarity in the arrangement of the incidents that it is difficult to establish Milton's indebtedness to any particular author, while it is perfectly evident that he studied the various works on the subject written in different languages, that he followed generally their traditional treatment of the plot, and, whenever he found it worth his while, borrowed their ideas and expressions without scruple. Since the days of Homer epic poets have regarded borrowing as their peculiar privilege, and rather prided themselves on their skill in utilizing the ideas of earlier poets. Milton avails himself of this epic privilege as freely as Virgil, and yet neither of these two great poets thereby forfeits his claim to originality. Both of them have deliberately justified their practice in this respect. Virgil, being reproached for his continual imitations of Homer, replied, "Let my detractors try to steal for themselves, as they say I have stolen for myself, and they will find that it is easier to rob Hercules of his club than to rob Homer of a single verse." Milton probably intended to defend himself against detraction on the same ground when he asserted that "to borrow and better in the borrowing is no plagiary." He has told us himself that he considered that "industrious and select reading" was the chief means by which he trained him-

self to become a great poet, and it was impossible for him not to reproduce in his own verses the fruits of his extensive study. It is however a mistake to dwell too much on parallelism between individual passages, and confidently assert that Milton borrowed this idea from Vondel, and that from Sylvester. It is always possible that Milton and the writer from whom he is supposed to have borrowed may be both equally indebted to some still earlier writer known to both, or more probably to some traditional treatment of the story of the beginning of the world handed down from generation to generation by the mystery and morality plays of the middle ages. In the more general attempt to determine what English poet chiefly attracted Milton's admiration and gave the spur to his imaginative genius, we are least likely to err if we give credence to his own statement as reported by Dryden, to whom he declared that Spenser was his original.

Milton's poetry is a mirror in which the writer's character is very clearly reflected. The most rapid survey of the subjects of his various poems is enough to remind us of the deep veneration for religion and morality which formed the chief element in his character. He unswervingly acted up to the high ideal he had conceived of the qualifications essential to a true poet. In Milton's opinion, "he who would not be frustrate of his hope to write well hereafter in laudable things, ought himself to be a true poem, that is, a composition and pattern of the best and honourablest things; not presuming to sing high praises of heroic men or famous cities, unless he have in himself the experience and the practice of all that which is praiseworthy." It was imperatively neces-

sary, he thought, that the poet should prepare himself for his high calling by hard study, a pure life, and "devout prayer to that Eternal Spirit who can enrich with all utterance and knowledge, and sends out His seraphim with the hallowed fire of His altar to touch and purify the lips of whom He pleases." Milton had conscientiously set himself to satisfy the intellectual and moral tests laid down by himself. All the best works of Hebrew, Greek, Roman, and contemporary writers had been carefully studied by him, and he could proudly declare, like Matthew Arnold's Mycerinus, that,

> "Rapt in reverential awe,
> He sat obedient in the fiery prime
> Of youth self-governed at the foot of law."

Having undergone the required discipline, and being conscious of his great genius, he had no doubt that God had vouchsafed to inspire him, as He inspired the prophets of the Old Testament, that he might fulfil his duty as a poet and be able "to inbreed and cherish in a great people the seeds of virtue and public civility; to allay the perturbations of the mind, and set the affections in right tune; to celebrate in glorious and lofty hymns the throne and equipage of God's almightiness, and what He suffers to be wrought with high providence in His church; to sing victorious agonies of martyrs and saints, the deeds and triumphs of just and pious nations doing valiantly through faith against the enemies of Christ; to deplore the general relapses of kingdoms and states from justice and God's true worship." His life and writings show how steadfastly he devoted himself to the service of religion and morality. There is no doubt that his religious and moral zeal, though it supplied his verse with

that earnestness which is an indispensable element in all poetry of the highest rank, at the same time often betrayed him into undignified asperity of language in his political and religious pamphlets. But his occasional outbursts of polemical violence, though we may condemn them as errors of judgment, are failings arising from enthusiasm for the great causes that his conscience approved, and will not prevent even those, who find it more easy to admire than love him for his transcendent virtue, from acknowledging that Milton was one of the noblest characters that England ever produced.

Next to his zeal for religion and virtue, the most prominent feature in Milton's character was his love of philosophy, literature, music, architecture, and the other fine arts. This characteristic was seldom found in the members of the political and religious party, to which Milton adhered in the struggle of the Great Rebellion. The spirit of Puritanism was on the whole decidedly opposed to all kinds of culture, so that poets, architects, painters, and musicians naturally looked to Charles I. and his court for protection and patronage. On this account Milton must always have been conscious of a wide contrast between himself and the party to which he belonged. Such Italian tours as he took in his youth were regarded as morally pernicious by the Puritans, who regarded the Italy of those days as a hot-bed of vice, in which the rich young cavaliers of the time received instruction in all kinds of immorality. When Milton's enthusiasm for religion and morality urged him to write religious and moral poetry, he felt himself thoroughly in harmony with his own party in the state; but his admiration for the beauties of literature and the fine arts, which he shared

with Charles I. and many of his courtiers, must have been looked upon with suspicion by his austere political associates. In his *L'Allegro* he not only glorifies the old Greek drama, but also mentions with approval the learned sock of Ben Jonson and the wild wood-notes of Shakespeare. But the Puritans, caring nothing for all the glories of the Elizabethan stage, condemned the whole drama indiscriminately as a school of immorality. In many fine passages of Milton's poetry evidence of his love of music may be found (see note, *P. L.*, I., 708), and we know that his favourite relaxation was to play on the organ. The Puritans had so little appreciation for music that they objected to its use in the service of God. Milton admired the beauties of ecclesiastical architecture (*Penseroso*, 155-166), which the Republican leaders allowed or encouraged their followers to deface. In a word, while Milton could appreciate everything beautiful in literature and art, those who professed the same religion and the same principles as himself confined their reading to the Bible, and included the innocent pleasures of literature, philosophy, and the fine arts in the same condemnation as the license and irreligion with which they appeared, from the standpoint of fanaticism, to be inextricably connected. Thus an important part of Milton's character tended to alienate him from the political party to which he belonged. Before the outbreak of the civil war the hostility between culture and religious Puritanism was less distinctly manifest. At the time when Milton was a young man, England had not yet been split up into two great irreconcilable divisions, between which an absolute choice had to be made. It was thus possible for him to indulge then to the full his love of beauty in art and

literature without feelings of self-reproach. But as he increased in austerity with advancing years, he became unable to remain entirely superior to the prevalent narrow-mindedness. There is good reason, from the internal evidence afforded by his poems, to believe that his attitude towards human learning was gradually affected by the influence of Puritan surroundings, until in old age he himself came to regard Greek philosophy and profane literature generally as either unprofitable or even pernicious (see note on II., 147).

Milton was undoubtedly a sincere patriot, but in times of civil war patriotism is in danger of being confounded with party spirit. In Milton's case religious zeal and republican enthusiasm rather tend to throw into the shade his affection for his native country. We have seen that in his youth he conceived the project of writing on the Arthurian legend a patriotic poem which would have celebrated the glories of England as the *Æneid* celebrates the history of Rome. In this poem Arthur was to have visited the under-world, where, like Virgil's Æneas, he would have seen visions of the future triumphs in war and peace to be won by his descendants and successors in distant ages. But the carrying out of such a project was rendered impossible for Milton by the Great Rebellion. A republican poet could not celebrate the glories of his national history when all its past triumphs were indissolubly connected with the names of kings and great barons. Thus it became impossible for Milton to make the glorification of his native land the main subject of his epic poem. There was however one means left by which he could express his patriotism without appearing to be unfaithful to his political principles. At first he seems to have

contemplated writing his great poem in Latin, the language in which many of his earlier poems were composed. This he was tempted to do in order that his poems might be read not only in England, but also by the learned in every nation of the continent. Fortunately, two reasons induced him eventually to write in English. The first reason was the conviction that if he wrote in Latin he would have the greatest difficulty in even attaining the second rank among Latin writers; his other motive was the patriotic conviction that by the true poet "there ought no regard be sooner had than to God's glory, by the honour and instruction of his country." He therefore resolved to write in English, even if by so doing he should lose all hope of obtaining a continental reputation. But the event shows that by this choice he gained far more than he sacrificed. Had he written *Paradise Lost* in Latin, the poem might have gained him a greater amount of contemporary renown, but it could never have held its ground in competition with the popularity of the productions of modern literature, and instead of being to England what the *Iliad*, the *Æneid*, and the *Divina Commedia* are to Greece, Rome, and Italy, would have been consigned to comparative oblivion as a literary curiosity only known to the learned. However, though Milton did not actually write in Latin, clear traces of his admiration for that language may be discerned in the predominance of Latin over Anglo-Saxon words in *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained*, and also in the excessive prevalence of Latin constructions, which makes those poems occasionally read like extremely literal translations of Latin.

Milton being debarred from choosing a patriotic sub-

ject for his great poem naturally turned to religion for inspiration, and chose *Paradise Lost* as the subject best adapted to his genius of all the many scriptural stories, the comparative suitability of which for poetic treatment he had carefully estimated, as we learn from the MS. lists in his own handwriting in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge. This immense subject, including as it does the fortunes of the angels and of the human race, and extending its scene of action over the whole universe, afforded wide scope for Milton's powerful imagination and for the display of his religious fervour. Such a lofty subject far surpassed in dignity the themes of his epic predecessors, and may almost be regarded as too vast for the greatest intellect successfully to grapple with. The partial success that Milton attained in his bold undertaking is the best proof of his extraordinary genius. In spite of Macaulay's enthusiastic eulogium it is impossible for any impartial critic to regard *Paradise Lost* as a flawless work. More faultless works have been accomplished by poets of inferior genius, who chose subjects more within the compass of the human intellect. *Paradise Lost* is rightly described by M. Taine as being a sublime imperfect poem. It is partly owing to its imperfections that it has never been very popular. The verdict of English taste places Milton on the same high pedestal as Shakespeare. But on the continent, while Shakespeare is almost unanimously recognized as one of the greatest, if not the greatest of the world's poets, Milton can hardly be said to have won for himself the same universal recognition. In fact, judging from the quotations and other references made to English writers in continental literature, it would almost appear

that in France and Germany the name of Milton is less familiar than that of Byron. Even in England, although verbal homage is universally paid to Milton's genius, it is to be feared that *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained* are more praised than read. The general reading public in their heart of hearts is inclined to endorse Dr. Johnson's judgment, that *Paradise Lost* is one of the books which the reader admires and lays down and forgets to take up again; that none ever wished it longer than it is; that its perusal is a duty rather than a pleasure; that we read Milton for instruction, retire harassed and overburdened, and look elsewhere for recreation. This want of appreciation is no doubt partly due to want of intellect and imagination on the part of the ordinary reader. "The works of Milton," as Macaulay truly remarks, "cannot be comprehended or enjoyed unless the mind of the reader co-operate with that of the writer," and most readers of poetry are too indolent to take this trouble, or not sufficiently educated to enter the long vistas of imagination suggested by Milton's many allusions to the literature and history of the past. But even the most cultured minds do not find perfect satisfaction in Milton's poetry. Critics of true poetical taste have had no difficulty in discerning the blemishes that mar *Paradise Lost*, such as the tiresome theological discussions in the third book, the inconsistent account given of the angels, who are sometimes represented as material, at other times as immaterial, the want of interest in the main action of the poem, and the conventional characters ascribed to Adam and Eve, who seem to M. Taine uninteresting types of a Puritan husband and wife in the seventeenth century. In this introduction it is enough

cursorily to mention these blemishes, as in the first two books of the poem little can be found for the most fastidious critic to take exception to, unless it be the allegory of Sin and Death, which is rightly condemned as unnecessarily repulsive in its details. But even this episode can be defended as full of a kind of horrible grandeur, and the two books taken together may safely be regarded as the longest sustained flight of really sublime poetry to be found in the whole range of English literature. Had Milton's hand been checked by death, when he had brought Satan safely to the confines of the newly created world, what a magnificent fragment would have remained! If he could have preserved the same elevation to the end of his poem, the result would have been an epic that might almost have justified the exaggerated eulogy of Dryden's well-known epigram. But it may be that to do so was beyond the power of human genius. At any rate in the third book, after the introductory lines, we cannot help being conscious of a fall, and through the rest of the poem it is only occasionally that the poet rises again to the grand style that is maintained almost uninterruptedly from the beginning of the first to the end of the second book.

The superiority of the first two books of *Paradise Lost* over the rest of the poem is partly due to the fact that what is described in them does not involve the poet in such insuperable difficulties as the subject matter of the later books. When we consider the poem as a whole, it is impossible for us to take any keen interest in the struggles of Satan and his followers, owing to Milton's insisting upon the omnipotence of God, which makes all those struggles perfectly hopeless. The utter inequality

of the contending forces is rendered too apparent as the poem proceeds. All the mighty angelic warriors described in the beginning of the poem turn out to be so helpless, that, except Satan, they remain inactive during the whole period of the action of the poem, and eventually, together with their leader, are degraded by being converted into hissing serpents. Even Satan suffers so many rebuffs and repulses throughout the course of the poem that his dignity is hopelessly impaired. If however we confine our attention to the first two books, the overwhelming omnipotence of God is at any rate kept in the background, and resistance to His will does not seem so utterly impossible. Milton describes the might, wisdom, and eloquence of the fallen angels with such sublime power that the defiance which they hurl towards the vault of heaven seems for the moment something more than an empty boast. One great conquest they actually effect in hell, the victory of unconquerable wills over adversity. The fallen angels respond nobly to the call of their great leader and rouse themselves with matchless fortitude from their physical and mental prostration. Such an undaunted struggle against the force of adverse circumstances cannot fail to attract the deepest sympathy. The natural tendency of human nature to sympathize with the weaker side often makes the reader of an epic poem feel more affection and admiration for the defeated adversary than for the victorious hero. The same natural feeling that prompts us to prefer Hector and Turnus to Achilles and Aeneas predisposes us still more strongly to commiserate the fate of a mighty angel fallen from the highest pitch of angelic power and glory. In describing the adversary of his hero, unless the epic poet

shows great tact, he will either impair the interest of his poem or make his readers sympathize with the side that he himself does not favour. If too many virtues are ascribed to the hero's adversary, there is some danger of his usurping in our sympathies the place that ought to be occupied by the hero himself. On the other hand, in avoiding this danger the poet may weaken the glory of his hero's triumph by representing the conquered foe as too mean and despicable an antagonist to confer any real glory on the conqueror. Milton in his poem represents the grand adversary as endowed with such noble attributes, that Dryden and many subsequent critics have thought that the great religious and Puritan poet of England actually intended to make Satan his hero. There is certainly some plausible ground for this paradoxical view if we confine our attention to the grand description of Satan given in the first two books. The other fallen angels are majestic figures whose characters are skilfully discriminated one from the other, but Satan towers far above them all. Milton's Satan is distinguished from all other demons that have been described in literature by the absence of the grotesque. The only other great epic poem in which any demon plays as prominent a part as Satan in *Paradise Lost* is the *Ramayana* of Valmiki. In that poem the Rakshaka Ravana has to contend against the power of man and God united in the person of Rama, who is an incarnation of the Deity. The Indian epic poet describes Ravana as a being "with ten faces, copper-coloured eyes, a huge chest, and bright teeth like the new moon, tall as a mountain peak, stopping with his arms the sun and moon in their course, and preventing their rising." Such

a grotesque description of one of the principal characters seriously impairs the dignity of the poem. The same error of judgment is committed by Tasso, who draws a hideous picture of Satan with blood-shot eyes, blood-dripping jaws, and a mouth as large as a whirlpool. Nor does Dante give a very dignified description of the great enemy of God, whom he represents as a huge monster with three heads, one yellow, another blue, and a third black, crunching three wretched sinners in his three mouths. Thus it appears from the comparison of the Satan of *Paradise Lost* with the pictures drawn of the infernal king by his most famous predecessors, that Milton could on occasion be boldly original, when originality was required. In delineating the character of Satan his genius led him to treat the great enemy of mankind with a generosity remarkable for a Puritan. Satan's character is treated with such sympathy, and described with so much dramatic power, that Carlyle came to the conclusion that Milton, in the person of Satan, has revealed to the world his own proud spirit of independence and superiority to the blows of fortune. Besides intellectual power and great courage, Milton has not refused to ascribe to Satan other redeeming qualities. The greatest poets often humanize the character of their worst villains by allowing them to show distinct traces of a better nature. Valmiki's Ravana, whose repulsive picture has been given above, is described by the author of the *Ramayana* as not without higher feelings, which he manifests in the dignified courtesy of his demeanour towards his wife. Shakespeare's Lady Macbeth is deterred from murdering Duncan by the resemblance of the sleeping king to her own father.

Even Shylock shows affection for his living daughter and regard for the memory of his dead wife. In like manner Milton does not represent the enemy of God and man as entirely destitute of gentler characteristics. He feels deep remorse (I. 605) at the thought of the ruin in which he has involved his followers, and this remorse actually moves him to tears (I. 620). In the second book he shows a noble sense of the duty of self-sacrifice incumbent on him on account of his position as king of hell, when "for the general safety he despised his own" (II. 481), and undertook alone the difficult enterprise which daunted the courage of the mightiest of his followers. The same treatment of Satan's character is maintained in the later books, in which he is twice melted with compassion at the sight of the harmless innocence of the very beings whose ruin he is plotting (IV. 389; IX. 462-466). These softer feelings are however only occasional touches introduced to relieve the grandeur of a character essentially terrible, a character which, though not entirely devoid of gentler traits, is on the whole most like a mighty tempest, or an avalanche, or any other force of nature that combines the beauty of sublimity with immense destructive power.

THE VERSE.

THE measure is English heroic verse without rime, as that of Homer in Greek, and of Virgil in Latin,—rime being no necessary adjunct or true ornament of poem or good verse, in longer works especially, but the invention of a barbarous age, to set off wretched matter and lame metre; graced indeed since by the use of some famous modern poets, carried away by custom, but much to their own vexation, hindrance, and constraint to express many things otherwise, and for the most part worse, than else they would have expressed them. Not without cause therefore some both Italian and Spanish poets of prime note have rejected rime both in longer and shorter works, as have also long since our best English tragedies, as a thing of itself, to all judicious ears, trivial and of no true musical delight; which consists only in apt numbers, fit quantity of syllables, and the sense variously drawn out from one verse into another, not in the jingling sound of like endings,—a fault avoided by the learned ancients both in poetry and all good oratory. This neglect then of rime so little is to be taken for a defect, though it may seem so perhaps to vulgar readers, that it rather is to be esteemed an example set, the first in English, of ancient liberty recovered to heroic poem from the troublesome and modern bondage of riming.

THE ARGUMENT.

This First Book proposes, first in brief, the whole subject—Man's disobedience, and the loss thereupon of Paradise, wherein he was placed: then touches the prime cause of his fall—the Serpent, or rather Satan in the Serpent; who, revolting from God, and drawing to his side many legions of Angels, was, by the command of God, driven out of Heaven, with all his crew, into the great Deep. Which action passed over, the Poem hastens into the midst of things; presenting Satan, with his Angels, now fallen into Hell—described here not in the Centre (for heaven and earth may be supposed as yet not made, certainly not yet accursed), but in a place of utter darkness, fitliest called Chaos. Here Satan, with his Angels, lying on the burning lake, thunderstruck and astonished, after a certain space recovers, as from confusion; calls up him who, next in order and dignity, lay by him: they confer of their miserable fall. Satan awakens all his legions, who lay till then in the same manner confounded. They rise: their numbers; array of battle; their chief leaders named, according to the idols known afterwards in Canaan and the countries adjoining. To these Satan directs his speech; comforts them with hope yet of regaining Heaven; but tells them, lastly, of a new world and new kind of creature to be created, according to an ancient prophecy, or report, in Heaven—for that Angels were long before this visible creation was the opinion of many ancient Fathers. To find out the truth of this prophecy, and what to determine thereon, he refers to a full council. What his associates thence attempt. Pandemonium, the palace of Satan, rises, suddenly built out of the Deep: the infernal Peers there sit in council.

PARADISE LOST.

BOOK I.

Of Man's first disobedience, and the fruit
Of that forbidden tree whose mortal taste
Brought death into the World, and all our woe,
With loss of Eden, till one greater Man
Restore us, and regain the blissful seat,
Sing, Heavenly Muse, that, on the secret top
Of Oreb, or of Sinai, didst inspire
That shepherd who first taught the chosen seed
In the beginning how the heavens and earth
Rose out of Chaos: or, if Sion hill 10
Delight thee more, and Siloa's brook that flowed
Fast by the oracle of God, I thence
Invoke thy aid to my adventrous song,
That with no middle flight intends to soar
Above the Aonian mount, while it pursues
Things unattempted yet in prose or rhyme.
And chiefly Thou, O Spirit, that dost prefer
Before all temples the upright heart and pure,
Instruct me, for Thou know'st; Thou from the first
Wast present, and, with mighty wings outspread, 20
Dove-like sat'st brooding on the vast Abyss,
And mad'st it pregnant: what in me is dark
Illumine, what is low raise and support;

That, to the highth of this great argument,
I may assert Eternal Providence,
And justify the ways of God to men.
Say first—for Heaven hides nothing from thy view,
Nor the deep tract of Hell—say first what cause
Moved our grand Parents, in that happy state,
Favoured of Heaven so highly, to fall off 30
From their Creator, and transgress his will
For one restraint, lords of the World besides.
Who first seduced them to that foul revolt?
The infernal Serpent; he it was whose guile,
Stirred up with envy and revenge, deceived
The mother of mankind, what time his pride
Had cast him out from Heaven, with all his host
Of rebel Angels, by whose aid, aspiring
To set himself in glory above his peers,
He trusted to have equalled the Most High, 40
If he opposed, and, with ambitious aim
Against the throne and monarchy of God,
Raised impious war in Heaven and battle proud,
With vain attempt. Him the Almighty Power
Hurled headlong flaming from the ethereal sky,
With hideous ruin and combustion, down
To bottomless perdition, there to dwell
In adamantine chains and penal fire,
Who durst defy the Omnipotent to arms.
Nine times the space that measures day and night 50
To mortal men, he, with his horrid crew,
Lay vanquished, rolling in the fiery gulf,
Confounded, though immortal. But his doom
Reserved him to more wrath; for now the thought
Both of lost happiness and lasting pain
Torments him: round he throws his baleful eyes,
That witnessed huge affliction and dismay,
Mixed with obdurate pride and steadfast hate.
At once, as far as Angel's ken, he views

The dismal situation waste and wild. 60
A dungeon horrible, on all sides round,
As one great furnace flamed; yet from those flames
No light; but rather darkness visible
Served only to discover sights of woe,
Regions of sorrow, doleful shades, where peace
And rest can never dwell, hope never comes
That comes to all, but torture without end
Still urges, and a fiery deluge, fed
With ever burning sulphur unconsumed.
Such place Eternal Justice had prepared 70
For those rebellious; here their prison ordained
In utter darkness, and their portion set,
As far removed from God and light of Heaven
As from the centre thrice to the utmost pole.
Oh how unlike the place from whence they fell!
There the companions of his fall, o'erwhelmed
With floods and whirlwinds of tempestuous fire,
He soon discerns; and, weltering by his side,
One next himself in power, and next in crime,
Long after known in Palestine, and named 80
BEËLZEBUB. To whom the Arch-Enemy,
And thence in Heaven called SATAN, with bold words
Breaking the horrid silence thus began:—
"If thou beest he—but Oh how fallen! how changed
From him!—who, in the happy realms of light,
Clothed with transcendent brightness, didst outshine
Myriads, though bright—if he whom mutual league,
United thoughts and counsels, equal hope
And hazard in the glorious enterprise,
Joined with me once, now misery hath joined 90
In equal ruin; into what pit thou seest
From what highth fallen: so much the stronger proved
He with his thunder: and till then who knew
The force of those dire arms? Yet not for those,
Nor what the potent victor in his rage

Can else inflict, do I repent, or change,
Though changed in outward lustre, that fixed mind,
And high disdain from sense of injured merit,
That with the Mightiest raised me to contend,
And to the fierce contention brought along 100
Innumerable force of Spirits armed,
That durst dislike his reign, and, me preferring,
His utmost power with adverse power opposed
In dubious battle on the plains of Heaven,
And shook his throne. What though the field be lost?
All is not lost—the unconquerable will,
And study of revenge, immortal hate,
And courage never to submit or yield:
And what is else not to be overcome?
That glory never shall his wrath or might 110
Extort from me. To bow and sue for grace
With suppliant knee, and deify his power
Who, from the terror of this arm, so late
Doubted his empire—that were low indeed;
That were an ignominy and shame beneath
This downfall; since, by fate, the strength of Gods,
And this empyreal substance, cannot fail;
Since, through experience of this great event,
In arms not worse, in foresight much advanced,
We may with more successful hope resolve 120
To wage by force or guile eternal war,
Irreconcilable to our grand Foe,
Who now triumphs, and in the excess of joy
Sole reigning holds the tyranny of Heaven."

So spake the apostate Angel, though in pain,
Vaunting aloud, but racked with deep despair;
And him thus answered soon his bold compeer:—
"O Prince, O Chief of many throned Powers
That led the embattled Seraphim to war
Under thy conduct, and, in dreadful deeds 130
Fearless, endangered Heaven's perpetual King,

And put to proof his high supremacy,
Whether upheld by strength, or chance, or fate!
Too well I see and rue the dire event
That, with sad overthrow and foul defeat,
Hath lost us Heaven, and all this mighty host
In horrible destruction laid thus low,
As far as Gods and Heavenly Essences
Can perish: for the mind and spirit remains
Invincible, and vigour soon returns, 140
Though all our glory extinct, and happy state
Here swallowed up in endless misery.
But what if He our Conqueror (whom I now
Of force believe almighty, since no less
Than such could have o'erpowered such force as ours)
Have left us this our spirit and strength entire,
Strongly to suffer and support our pains,
That we may so suffice his vengeful ire,
Or do him mightier service as his thralls
By right of war, whate'er his business be, 150
Here in the heart of Hell to work in fire,
Or do his errands in the gloomy Deep?
What can it then avail though yet we feel
Strength undiminished, or eternal being
To undergo eternal punishment?"

Whereto with speedy words the Arch-Fiend replied:—
"Fallen Cherub, to be weak is miserable,
Doing or suffering: but of this be sure—
To do aught good never will be our task,
But ever to do ill our sole delight, 160
As being the contrary to His high will
Whom we resist. If then his providence
Out of our evil seek to bring forth good,
Our labour must be to pervert that end,
And out of good still to find means of evil;
Which ofttimes may succeed so as perhaps
Shall grieve him, if I fail not, and disturb

His inmost counsels from their destined aim.
But see! the angry Victor hath recalled
His ministers of vengeance and pursuit 170
Back to the gates of Heaven: the sulphurous hail,
Shot after us in storm, o'erblown hath laid
The fiery surge that from the precipice
Of Heaven received us falling; and the thunder,
Winged with red lightning and impetuous rage,
Perhaps hath spent his shafts, and ceases now
To bellow through the vast and boundless Deep.
Let us not slip the occasion, whether scorn
Or satiate fury yield it from our Foe.
Seest thou yon dreary plain, forlorn and wild, 180
The seat of desolation, void of light,
Save what the glimmering of these livid flames
Casts pale and dreadful? Thither let us tend
From off the tossing of these fiery waves;
There rest, if any rest can harbour there;
And re-assembling our afflicted powers,
Consult how we may henceforth most offend
Our enemy, our own loss how repair,
How overcome this dire calamity,
What reinforcement we may gain from hope, 190
If not, what resolution from despair."

Thus Satan talking to his nearest mate,
With head uplift above the wave, and eyes
That sparkling blazed; his other parts besides
Prone on the flood, extended long and large,
Lay floating many a rood, in bulk as huge
As whom the fables name of monstrous size,
Titanian or Earth-born, that warred on Jove,
Briareos or Typhon, whom the den
By ancient Tarsus held, or that sea-beast 200
Leviathan, which God of all his works
Created hugest that swim the ocean-stream.
Him, haply slumbering on the Norway foam,

The pilot of some small night-foundered skiff,
Deeming some island, oft, as seamen tell,
With fixèd anchor in his scaly rind,
Moors by his side under the lee, while night
Invests the sea, and wishèd morn delays.
So stretched out huge in length the Arch-Fiend lay,
Chained on the burning lake; nor ever thence 210
Had risen, or heaved his head, but that the will
And high permission of all-ruling Heaven
Left him at large to his own dark designs,
That with reiterated crimes he might
Heap on himself damnation, while he sought
Evil to others, and enraged might see
How all his malice served but to bring forth
Infinite goodness, grace, and mercy, shewn
On Man by him seduced, but on himself
Treble confusion, wrath, and vengeance poured. 220
Forthwith upright he rears from off the pool
His mighty stature; on each hand the flames
Driven backward slope their pointing spires, and, rolled
In billows, leave i' the midst a horrid vale.
Then with expanded wings he steers his flight
Aloft, incumbent on the dusky air,
That felt unusual weight; till on dry land
He lights—if it were land that ever burned
With solid, as the lake with liquid fire,
And such appeared in hue as when the force 230
Of subterranean wind transports a hill
Torn from Pelorus, or the shattered side
Of thundering Ætna, whose combustible
And fuelled entrails, thence conceiving fire,
Sublimed with mineral fury, aid the winds,
And leave a singèd bottom all involved
With stench and smoke. Such resting found the sole
Of unblest feet. Him followed his next mate;
Both glorying to have scaped the Stygian flood

As gods, and by their own recovered strength, 240
Not by the sufferance of supernal power.
"Is this the region, this the soil, the clime,"
Said then the lost Archangel, "this the seat
That we must change for Heaven?—this mournful gloom
For that celestial light? Be it so, since He
Who now is sovran can dispose and bid
What shall be right: farthest from Him is best,
Whom reason hath equalled, force hath made supreme
Above his equals. Farewell, happy fields,
Where joy for ever dwells! Hail, horrors! hail, 250
Infernal World! and thou, profoundest Hell,
Receive thy new possessor—one who brings
A mind not to be changed by place or time.
The mind is its own place, and in itself
Can make a Heaven of Hell, a Hell of Heaven.
What matter where, if I be still the same,
And what I should be, all but less than he
Whom thunder hath made greater? Here at least
We shall be free; the Almighty hath not built
Here for his envy, will not drive us hence: 260
Here we may reign secure; and, in my choice,
To reign is worth ambition, though in Hell:
Better to reign in Hell than serve in Heaven.
But wherefore let we then our faithful friends,
The associates and co-partners of our loss,
Lie thus astonished on the oblivious pool,
And call them not to share with us their part
In this unhappy mansion, or once more
With rallied arms to try what may be yet
Regained in Heaven, or what more lost in Hell?" 270
So Satan spake; and him Beëlzebub
Thus answered:—"Leader of those armies bright
Which, but the Omnipotent, none could have foiled!
If once they hear that voice, their liveliest pledge
Of hope in fears and dangers—heard so oft

In worst extremes, and on the perilous edge
Of battle, when it raged, in all assaults
Their surest signal—they will soon resume
New courage and revive, though now they lie
Grovelling and prostrate on yon lake of fire, 280
As we erewhile, astounded and amazed;
No wonder, fallen such a pernicious highth!"
He scarce had ceased when the superior Fiend
Was moving toward the shore; his ponderous shield,
Ethereal temper, massy, large, and round,
Behind him cast. The broad circumference
Hung on his shoulders like the moon, whose orb
Through optic glass the Tuscan artist views
At evening from the Top of Fesolè,
Or in Valdarno, to descry new lands, 290
Rivers, or mountains, in her spotty globe.
His spear—to equal which the tallest pine
Hewn on Norwegian hills, to be the mast
Of some great ammiral, were but a wand—
He walked with, to support uneasy steps
Over the burning marle, not like those steps
On Heaven's azure; and the torrid clime
Smote on him sore besides, vaulted with fire.
Nathless he so endured, till on the beach
Of that inflamèd sea he stood, and called 300
His legions—Angel Forms, who lay entranced
Thick as autumnal leaves that strow the brooks
In Vallombrosa, where the Etrurian shades
High over-arched embower; or scattered sedge
Afloat, when with fierce winds Orion armed
Hath vexed the Red-Sea coast, whose waves o'erthrew
Busiris and his Memphian chivalry,
While with perfidious hatred they pursued
The sojourners of Goshen, who beheld
From the safe shore their floating carcases 310
And broken chariot-wheels. So thick bestrown,

Abject and lost, lay these, covering the flood,
Under amazement of their hideous change.
He called so loud that all the hollow deep
Of Hell resounded :—" Princes, Potentates,
Warriors, the Flower of Heaven—once yours ; now lost,
If such astonishment as this can seize
Eternal Spirits ! Or have ye chosen this place
After the toil of battle to repose
Your wearied virtue, for the ease you find 320
To slumber here, as in the vales of Heaven ?
Or in this abject posture have ye sworn
To adore the Conqueror, who now beholds
Cherub and Seraph rolling in the flood
With scattered arms and ensigns, till anon
His swift pursuers from Heaven-gates discern
The advantage, and, descending, tread us down
Thus drooping, or with linkèd thunderbolts
Transfix us to the bottom of this gulf ?—
Awake, arise, or be for ever fallen ! " 330

They heard, and were abashed, and up they sprung
Upon the wing, as when men wont to watch,
On duty sleeping found by whom they dread,
Rouse and bestir themselves ere well awake.
Nor did they not perceive the evil plight
In which they were, or the fierce pains not feel ;
Yet to their General's voice they soon obeyed
Innumerable. As when the potent rod
Of Amram's son, in Egypt's evil day,
Waved round the coast, up-called a pitchy cloud 340
Of locusts, warping on the eastern wind,
That o'er the realm of impious Pharaoh hung
Like Night, and darkened all the land of Nile ;
So numberless were those bad Angels seen
Hovering on wing under the cope of Hell,
'Twixt upper, nether, and surrounding fires ;
Till, as a signal given, the uplifted spear

Of their great Sultan waving to direct
Their course, in even balance down they light
On the firm brimstone, and fill all the plain: 350
A multitude like which the populous North
Poured never from her frozen loins to pass
Rhene or the Danaw, when her barbarous sons
Came like a deluge on the South, and spread
Beneath Gibraltar to the Libyan sands.
Forthwith, from every squadron and each band,
The heads and leaders thither haste where stood
Their great Commander—godlike Shapes, and Forms
Excelling human; princely Dignities;
And Powers that erst in Heaven sat on thrones, 360
Though of their names in Heavenly records now
Be no memorial, blotted out and rased
By their rebellion from the Books of Life.
Nor had they yet among the sons of Eve
Got them new names, till, wandering o'er the earth,
Through God's high sufferance for the trial of man,
By falsities and lies the greatest part
Of mankind they corrupted to forsake
God their Creator, and the invisible
Glory of Him that made them to transform 370
Oft to the image of a brute, adorned
With gay religions full of pomp and gold,
And devils to adore for deities:
Then were they known to men by various names,
And various idols through the Heathen World.
Say, Muse, their names then known, who first, who last,
Roused from the slumber on that fiery couch,
At their great Emperor's call, as next in worth
Came singly where he stood on the bare strand,
While the promiscuous crowd stood yet aloof. 380
The chief were those who, from the pit of Hell
Roaming to seek their prey on Earth, durst fix
Their seats, long after, next the seat of God,

Their altars by His altar, gods adored
Among the nations round, and durst abide
Jehovah thundering out of Sion, throned
Between the Cherubim ; yea, often placed
Within His sanctuary itself their shrines,
Abominations ; and with cursed things
His holy rites and solemn feasts profaned, 390
And with their darkness durst affront His light.
First, *Moloch*, horrid king, besmeared with blood
Of human sacrifice, and parents' tears ;
Though, for the noise of drums and timbrels loud,
Their children's cries unheard that passed through fire
To his grim idol. Him the Ammonite
Worshipped in Rabba and her watery plain,
In Argob and in Basan, to the stream
Of utmost Arnon. Nor content with such
Audacious neighbourhood, the wisest heart 400
Of Solomon he led by fraud to build
His temple right against the temple of God
On that opprobrious hill, and made his grove
The pleasant valley of Hinnom, Tophet thence
And black Gehenna called, the type of Hell.
Next *Chemos*, the obscene dread of Moab's sons,
From Aroar to Nebo and the wild
Of southmost Abarim ; in Hesebon
And Horonaim, Seon's realm, beyond
The flowery dale of Sibma clad with vines, 410
And Elealè to the Asphaltic Pool :
Peor his other name, when he enticed
Israel in Sittim, on their march from Nile,
To do him wanton rites, which cost them woe.
Yet thence his lustful orgies he enlarged
Even to that hill of scandal, by the grove
Of Moloch homicide, lust hard by hate,
Till good Josiah drove them thence to Hell.
With these came they who, from the bordering flood

Of old Euphrates to that brook that parts 420
Egypt from Syrian ground, had general names
Of *Baalim* and *Ashtaroth*—those male,
These feminine. For Spirits, when they please,
Can either sex assume, or both; so soft
And uncompounded is their essence pure,
Not tied or manacled with joint or limb,
Nor founded on the brittle strength of bones,
Like cumbrous flesh; but, in what shape they choose,
Dilated or condensed, bright or obscure,
Can execute their aery purposes, 430
And works of love or enmity fulfil.
For those the race of Israel oft forsook
Their Living Strength, and unfrequented left
His righteous altar, bowing lowly down
To bestial gods; for which their heads, as low
Bowed down in battle, sunk before the spear
Of despicable foes. With these in troop
Came *Astoreth*, whom the Phœnicians called
Astarte, queen of heaven, with crescent horns;
To whose bright image nightly by the moon 440
Sidonian virgins paid their vows and songs;
In Sion also not unsung, where stood
Her temple on the offensive mountain, built
By that uxorious king whose heart, though large,
Beguiled by fair idolatresses, fell
To idols foul. *Thammuz* came next behind,
Whose annual wound in Lebanon allured
The Syrian damsels to lament his fate
In amorous ditties all a summer's day,
While smooth Adonis from his native rock 450
Ran purple to the sea, supposed with blood
Of Thammuz yearly wounded: the love-tale
Infected Sion's daughters with like heat,
Whose wanton passions in the sacred porch
Ezekiel saw, when, by the vision led,

His eye surveyed the dark idolatries
Of alienated Judah. Next came one
Who mourned in earnest, when the captive ark
Maimed his brute image, head and hands lopt off,
In his own temple, on the grunsel-edge, 460
Where he fell flat and shamed his worshippers:
Dagon his name, sea-monster, upward man
And downward fish; yet had his temple high
Reared in Azotus, dreaded through the coast
Of Palestine, in Gath and Ascalon,
And Accaron and Gaza's frontier bounds.
Him followed *Rimmon*, whose delightful seat
Was fair Damascus, on the fertile banks
Of Abbana and Pharphar, lucid streams.
He also against the house of God was bold: 470
A leper once he lost, and gained a king—
Ahaz, his sottish conqueror, whom he drew
God's altar to disparage and displace
For one of Syrian mode, whereon to burn
His odious offerings, and adore the gods
Whom he had vanquished. After these appeared
A crew who, under names of old renown—
Osiris, *Isis*, *Orus*, and their train—
With monstrous shapes and sorceries abused
Fanatic Egypt and her priests to seek 480
Their wandering gods disguised in brutish forms
Rather than human. Nor did Israel scape
The infection, when their borrowed gold composed
The calf in Oreb; and the rebel king
Doubled that sin in Bethel and in Dan,
Likening his Maker to the grazèd ox—
Jehovah, who, in one night, when he passed
From Egypt marching, equalled with one stroke
Both her first-born and all her bleating gods.
Belial came last; than whom a Spirit more lewd 490
Fell not from Heaven, or more gross to lóve

Vice for itself. To him no temple stood
Or altar smoked; yet who more oft than he
In temples and at altars, when the priest
Turns atheist, as did Eli's sons, who filled
With lust and violence the house of God?
In courts and palaces he also reigns,
And in luxurious cities, where the noise
Of riot ascends above their loftiest towers,
And injury and outrage; and, when night 500
Darkens the streets, then wander forth the sons
Of Belial, flown with insolence and wine.
Witness the streets of Sodom, and that night
In Gibeah, when the hospitable door
Exposed a matron, to avoid worse rape.
These were the prime in order and in might:
The rest were long to tell; though far renowned
The Ionian gods—of Javan's issue held
Gods, yet confessed later than Heaven and Earth,
Their boasted parents;—*Titan*, Heaven's first-born, 510
With his enormous brood, and birthright seized
By younger *Saturn:* he from mightier Jove,
His own and Rhea's son, like measure found;
So *Jove* usurping reigned. These, first in Crete
And Ida known, thence on the snowy top
Of cold Olympus ruled the middle air,
Their highest heaven; or on the Delphian cliff,
Or in Dodona, and through all the bounds
Of Doric land; or who with Saturn old
Fled over Adria to the Hesperian fields, 520
And o'er the Celtic roamed the utmost Isles.
All these and more came flocking; but with looks
Downcast and damp; yet such wherein appeared
Obscure some glimpse of joy to have found their Chief
Not in despair, to have found themselves not lost
In loss itself; which on his countenance cast
Like doubtful hue. But he, his wonted pride

Soon recollecting, with high words, that bore
Semblance of worth, not substance, gently raised
Their fainting courage and dispelled their fears: 530
Then straight commands that, at the warlike sound
Of trumpets loud and clarions, be upreared
His mighty standard. That proud honour claimed
Azazel as his right, a Cherub tall:
Who forthwith from the glittering staff unfurled
The imperial ensign; which, full high advanced,
Shone like a meteor streaming to the wind,
With gems and golden lustre rich emblazed,
Seraphic arms and trophies; all the while
Sonorous metal blowing martial sounds: 540
At which the universal host up-sent
A shout that tore Hell's concave, and beyond
Frighted the reign of Chaos and old Night.
All in a moment through the gloom were seen
Ten thousand banners rise into the air,
With orient colours waving: with them rose
A forest huge of spears; and thronging helms
Appeared, and serried shields in thick array
Of depth immeasurable. Anon they move
In perfect phalanx to the Dorian mood 550
Of flutes and soft recorders—such as raised
To highth of noblest temper heroes old
Arming to battle, and instead of rage
Deliberate valour breathed, firm, and unmoved
With dread of death to flight or foul retreat;
Nor wanting power to mitigate and swage
With solemn touches troubled thoughts, and chase
Anguish and doubt and fear and sorrow and pain
From mortal or immortal minds. Thus they,
Breathing united force with fixèd thought, 560
Moved on in silence to soft pipes that charmed
Their painful steps o'er the burnt soil. And now
Advanced in view they stand—a horrid front

Of dreadful length and dazzling arms, in guise
Of warriors old, with ordered spear and shield,
Awaiting what command their mighty Chief
Had to impose. He through the armèd files
Darts his experienced eye, and soon traverse
The whole battalion views—their order due,
Their visages and stature as of gods; 570
Their number last he sums. And now his heart
Distends with pride, and, hardening in his strength,
Glories: for never, since created Man,
Met such embodied force as, named with these,
Could merit more than that small infantry
Warred on by cranes—though all the giant brood
Of Phlegra with the heroic race were joined
That fought at Thebes and Ilium, on each side
Mixed with auxiliar gods; and what resounds
In fable or romance of Uther's son, 580
Begirt with British and Armoric knights;
And all who since, baptized or infidel,
Jousted in Aspramont, or Montalban,
Damasco, or Marocco, or Trebisond,
Or whom Biserta sent from Afric shore
When Charlemain with all his peerage fell
By Fontarabbia. Thus far these beyond
Compare of mortal prowess, yet observed
Their dread Commander. He, above the rest
In shape and gesture proudly eminent, 590
Stood like a tower. His form had yet not lost
All her original brightness, nor appeared
Less than Archangel ruined, and the excess
Of glory obscured: as when the sun new-risen
Looks through the horizontal misty air
Shorn of his beams, or, from behind the moon,
In dim eclipse, disastrous twilight sheds
On half the nations, and with fear of change
Perplexes monarchs. Darkened so, yet shone

Above them all the Archangel: but his face 600
Deep scars of thunder had intrenched, and care
Sat on his faded cheek, but under brows
Of dauntless courage, and considerate pride
Waiting revenge. Cruel his eye, but cast
Signs of remorse and passion, to behold
The fellows of his crime, the followers rather
(Far other once beheld in bliss), condemned
For ever now to have their lot in pain—
Millions of Spirits for his fault amerced
Of Heaven, and from eternal splendours flung 610
For his revolt—yet faithful how they stood,
Their glory withered; as, when heaven's fire
Hath scathed the forest oaks or mountain pines,
With singèd top their stately growth, though bare,
Stands on the blasted heath. He now prepared
To speak; whereat their doubled ranks they bend
From wing to wing, and half enclose him round
With all his peers: Attention held them mute.
Thrice he assayed, and thrice, in spite of scorn,
Tears, such as Angels weep, burst forth: at last 620
Words interwove with sighs found out their way:—
"O myriads of immortal Spirits! O Powers
Matchless, but with the Almighty!—and that strife
Was not inglorious, though the event was dire,
As this place testifies, and this dire change,
Hateful to utter. But what power of mind,
Foreseeing or presaging, from the depth
Of knowledge past or present, could have feared
How such united force of gods, how such
As stood like these, could ever know repulse? 630
For who can yet believe, though after loss,
That all these puissant legions, whose exile
Hath emptied Heaven, shall fail to re-ascend,
Self-raised, and re-possess their native seat?
For me, be witness all the host of Heaven,

If counsels different, or dangers shunned
By me have lost our hopes. But he who reigns
Monarch in Heaven till then as one secure
Sat on his throne, upheld by old repute,
Consent or custom, and his regal state 640
Put forth at full, but still his strength concealed—
Which tempted our attempt, and wrought our fall.
Henceforth his might we know, and know our own.
So as not either to provoke, or dread
New war provoked: our better part remains
To work in close design, by fraud or guile,
What force effected not; that he no less
At length from us may find, Who overcomes
By force hath overcome but half his foe.
Space may produce new Worlds; whereof so rife 650
There went a fame in Heaven that He ere long
Intended to create, and therein plant
A generation whom his choice regard
Should favour equal to the Sons of Heaven.
Thither, if but to pry, shall be perhaps
Our first eruption—thither, or elsewhere;
For this infernal pit shall never hold
Celestial Spirits in bondage, nor the Abyss
Long under darkness cover. But these thoughts
Full counsel must mature. Peace is despaired; 660
For who can think submission? War, then, war
Open or understood, must be resolved."
He spake; and, to confirm his words, out-flew
Millions of flaming swords, drawn from the thighs
Of mighty Cherubim; the sudden blaze
Far round illumined Hell. Highly they raged
Against the Highest, and fierce with graspèd arms
Clashed on their sounding shields the din of war,
Hurling defiance toward the vault of heaven.
There stood a hill not far, whose grisly top 670
Belched fire and rolling smoke; the rest entire

Shone with a glossy scurf—undoubted sign
That in his womb was hid metallic ore,
The work of sulphur. Thither, winged with speed,
A numerous brigad hastened: as when bands
Of pioneers, with spade and pickaxe armed,
Forerun the royal camp, to trench a field,
Or cast a rampart. Mammon led them on—
Mammon, the least erected Spirit that fell
From Heaven; for even in Heaven his looks and thoughts 680
Were always downward bent, admiring more
The riches of Heaven's pavement, trodden gold,
Than aught divine or holy else enjoyed
In vision beatific. By him first
Men also, and by his suggestion taught,
Ransacked the Centre, and with impious hands
Rifled the bowels of their mother Earth
For treasures better hid. Soon had his crew
Opened into the hill a spacious wound,
And digged out ribs of gold. Let none admire 690
That riches grow in Hell; that soil may best
Deserve the precious bane. And here let those
Who boast in mortal things, and wondering tell
Of Babel and the works of Memphian kings,
Learn how their greatest monuments of fame,
And strength, and art, are easily outdone
By Spirits reprobate, and in an hour
What in an age they, with incessant toil
And hands innumerable, scarce perform.
Nigh on the plain, in many cells prepared, 700
That underneath had veins of liquid fire
Sluiced from the lake, a second multitude
With wondrous art founded the massy ore,
Severing each kind, and scummed the bullion-dross.
A third as soon had formed within the ground
A various mould, and from the boiling cells
By strange conveyance filled each hollow nook;

As in an organ, from one blast of wind,
To many a row of pipes the sound-board breathes.
Anon out of the earth a fabric huge 710
Rose like an exhalation, with the sound
Of dulcet symphonies and voices sweet—
Built like a temple, where pilasters round
Were set, and Doric pillars overlaid
With golden architrave; nor did there want
Cornice or frieze, with bossy sculptures graven:
The roof was fretted gold. Not Babylon
Nor great Alcairo such magnificence
Equalled in all their glories, to enshrine
Belus or Serapis their gods, or seat 720
Their kings, when Egypt with Assyria strove
In wealth and luxury. The ascending pile
Stood fixed her stately highth; and straight the doors,
Opening their brazen folds discover, wide
Within, her ample spaces o'er the smooth
And level pavement: from the arched roof,
Pendent by subtle magic, many a row
Of starry lamps and blazing cressets, fed
With naphtha and asphaltus, yielded light
As from a sky. The hasty multitude 730
Admiring entered; and the work some praise,
And some the architect. His hand was known
In Heaven by many a towered structure high,
Where sceptred Angels held their residence,
And sat as Princes, whom the supreme King
Exalted to such power, and gave to rule,
Each in his hierarchy, the Orders bright.
Nor was his name unheard or unadored
In ancient Greece; and in Ausonian land
Men called him Mulciber; and how he fell 740
From Heaven they fabled, thrown by angry Jove
Sheer o'er the crystal battlements: from morn
To noon he fell, from noon to dewy eve,

A summer's day, and with the setting sun
Dropt from the zenith, like a falling star,
On Lemnos, the Ægæan isle. Thus they relate,
Erring; for he with this rebellious rout
Fell long before; nor aught availed him now
To have built in Heaven high towers; nor did he scape
By all his engines, but was headlong sent, 750
With his industrious crew, to build in Hell.
Meanwhile the wingèd Haralds, by command
Of sovran power, with awful ceremony
And trumpet's sound, throughout the host proclaim
A solemn council forthwith to be held
At Pandemonium, the high capital
Of Satan and his peers. Their summons called
From every band and squarèd regiment
By place or choice the worthiest: they anon
With hundreds and with thousands trooping came 760
Attended. All access was thronged; the gates
And porches wide, but chief the spacious hall
(Though like a covered field, where champions bold
Wont ride in armed, and at the Soldan's chair
Defied the best of Panim chivalry
To mortal combat, or career with lance),
Thick swarmed, both on the ground and in the air,
Brushed with the hiss of rustling wings. As bees
In spring-time, when the Sun with Taurus rides,
Pour forth their populous youth about the hive 770
In clusters; they among fresh dews and flowers
Fly to and fro, or on the smoothèd plank,
The suburb of their straw-built citadel,
New rubbed with balm, expatiate, and confer
Their state-affairs: so thick the aery crowd
Swarmed and were straitened; till, the signal given,
Behold a wonder! They but now who seemed
In bigness to surpass Earth's giant sons,
Now less than smallest dwarfs, in narrow room

Throng numberless—like that pygmean race 780
Beyond the Indian mount; or faery elves,
Whose midnight revels, by a forest-side
Or fountain, some belated peasant sees,
Or dreams he sees, while overhead the Moon
Sits arbitress, and nearer to the Earth
Wheels her pale course: they, on their mirth and dance
Intent, with jocund music charm his ear;
At once with joy and fear his heart rebounds.
Thus incorporeal Spirits to smallest forms
Reduced their shapes immense, and were at large, 790
Though without number still, amidst the hall
Of that infernal court. But far within,
And in their own dimensions like themselves,
The great Seraphic Lords and Cherubim
In close recess and secret conclave sat,
A thousand demi-gods on golden seats,
Frequent and full. After short silence then,
And summons read, the great consult began.

THE END OF THE FIRST BOOK.

THE ARGUMENT.

The consultation begun, Satan debates whether another battle be to be hazarded for the recovery of Heaven: some advise it, others dissuade. A third proposal is preferred, mentioned before by Satan—to search the truth of that prophecy or tradition in Heaven concerning another world, and another kind of creature, equal, or not much inferior, to themselves, about this time to be created. Their doubt who shall be sent on this difficult search: Satan, their chief, undertakes alone the voyage; is honoured and applauded. The council thus ended, the rest betake them several ways and to several employments, as their inclinations lead them, to entertain the time till Satan return. He passes on his journey to Hell-gates; finds them shut, and who sat there to guard them; by whom at length they are opened, and discover to him the great gulf between Hell and Heaven. With what difficulty he passes through, directed by Chaos, the Power of that place, to the sight of this new World which he sought.

PARADISE LOST.

BOOK II.

HIGH on a throne of royal state, which far
Outshone the wealth of Ormus and of Ind,
Or where the gorgeous East with richest hand
Showers on her kings barbaric pearl and gold
Satan exalted sat, by merit raised
To that bad eminence; and, from despair
Thus high uplifted beyond hope, aspires
Beyond thus high, insatiate to pursue
Vain war with Heaven; and, by success untaught,
His proud imaginations thus displayed:— 10
"Powers and Dominions, Deities of Heaven!—
For, since no deep within her gulf can hold
Immortal vigour, though oppressed and fallen,
I give not Heaven for lost: from this descent
Celestial Virtues rising will appear
More glorious and more dread than from no fall,
And trust themselves to fear no second fate!—
Me though just right, and the fixed laws of Heaven,
Did first create your leader—next, free choice,
With what besides in council or in fight 20
Hath been achieved of merit—yet this loss,
Thus far at least recovered, hath much more
Established in a safe, unenvied throne,

Yielded with full consent. The happier state
In Heaven, which follows dignity, might draw
Envy from each inferior; but who here
Will envy whom the highest place exposes
Foremost to stand against the Thunderer's aim
Your bulwark, and condemns to greatest share
Of endless pain? (Where there is, then, no good 30
For which to strive, no strife can grow up there
From faction: for none sure will claim in Hell
Precedence; none whose portion is so small
Of present pain that with ambitious mind
Will covet more!) With this advantage, then,
To union and firm faith, and firm accord,
More than can be in Heaven, we now return
To claim our just inheritance of old,
Surer to prosper than prosperity
Could have assured us; and by what best way, 40
Whether of open war or covert guile,
We now debate. Who can advise may speak."
He ceased; and next him Moloch, sceptred king,
Stood up—the strongest and the fiercest Spirit
That fought in Heaven, now fiercer by despair.
His trust was with the Eternal to be deemed
Equal in strength, and rather than be less
Cared not to be at all; with that care lost
Went all his fear: of God, or Hell, or worse,
He recked not, and these words thereafter spake:— 50
"My sentence is for open war. Of wiles,
More unexpert, I boast not: them let those
Contrive who need, or when they need; not now.
For, while they sit contriving, shall the rest—
Millions that stand in arms, and longing wait
The signal to ascend—sit lingering here,
Heaven's fugitives, and for their dwelling-place
Accept this dark opprobrious den of shame,
The prison of His tyranny who reigns

By our delay? No! let us rather choose, 60
Armed with Hell-flames and fury, all at once
O'er Heaven's high towers to force resistless way,
Turning our tortures into horrid arms
Against the Torturer; when, to meet the noise
Of his almighty engine, he shall hear
Infernal thunder, and, for lightning, see
Black fire and horror shot with equal rage
Among his Angels, and his throne itself
Mixed with Tartarean sulphur and strange fire,
His own invented torments. But perhaps 70
The way seems difficult, and steep to scale
With upright wing against a higher foe!
Let such bethink them, if the sleepy drench
Of that forgetful lake benumb not still,
That in our proper motion we ascend
Up to our native seat; descent and fall
To us is adverse. Who but felt of late,
When the fierce foe hung on our broken rear
Insulting, and pursued us through the Deep,
With what compulsion and laborious flight 80
We sunk thus low? The ascent is easy, then;
The event is feared! Should we again provoke
Our stronger, some worse way his wrath may find
To our destruction, if there be in Hell
Fear to be worse destroyed! What can be worse
Than to dwell here, driven out from bliss, condemned
In this abhorrèd deep to utter woe;
Where pain of unextinguishable fire
Must exercise us without hope of end,
The vassals of his anger, when the scourge 90
Inexorably, and the torturing hour,
Calls us to penance? More destroyed than thus,
We should be quite abolished, and expire.
What fear we then? what doubt we to incense
His utmost ire? which, to the highth enraged,

Will either quite consume us, and reduce
To nothing this essential—happier far
Than miserable to have eternal being !—
Or, if our substance be indeed divine,
And cannot cease to be, we are at worst 100
On this side nothing ; and by proof we feel
Our power sufficient to disturb his Heaven,
And with perpetual inroads to alarm,
Though inaccessible, his fatal throne :
Which, if not victory, is yet revenge."
He ended frowning, and his look denounced
Desperate revenge, and battle dangerous
To less than gods. On the other side up rose
Belial, in act more graceful and humane.
A fairer person lost not Heaven ; he seemed 110
For dignity composed, and high exploit.
But all was false and hollow ; though his tongue
Dropt manna, and could make the worse appear
The better reason, to perplex and dash
Maturest counsels : for his thoughts were low—
To vice industrious, but to nobler deeds
Timorous and slothful. Yet he pleased the ear,
And with persuasive accent thus began :—
"I should be much for open war, O Peers,
As not behind in hate, if what was urged 120
Main reason to persuade immediate war
Did not dissuade me most, and seem to cast
Ominous conjecture on the whole success ;
When he who most excels in fact of arms,
In what he counsels and in what excels
Mistrustful, grounds his courage on despair
And utter dissolution, as the scope
Of all his aim, after some dire revenge.
First, what revenge ? The towers of Heaven are filled
With armèd watch, that render all access 130
Impregnable : oft on the bordering Deep

Encamp their legions, or with obscure wing
Scout far and wide into the realm of Night,
Scorning surprise. Or, could we break our way
By force, and at our heels all Hell should rise
With blackest insurrection to confound
Heaven's purest light, yet our great Enemy,
All incorruptible, would on his throne
Sit unpolluted, and the ethereal mould,
Incapable of stain, would soon expel 140
Her mischief, and purge off the baser fire,
Victorious. Thus repulsed, our final hope
Is flat despair: we must exasperate
The Almighty Victor to spend all his rage;
And that must end us; that must be our cure—
To be no more. Sad cure! for who would lose,
Though full of pain, this intellectual being,
Those thoughts that wander through eternity,
To perish rather swallowed up and lost
In the wide womb of uncreated Night, 150
Devoid of sense and motion? And who knows,
Let this be good, whether our angry Foe
Can give it, or will ever? How he can
Is doubtful; that he never will is sure.
Will He, so wise, let loose at once his ire,
Belike through impotence or unaware,
To give his enemies their wish, and end
Them in his anger whom his anger saves
To punish endless? 'Wherefore cease we, then?'
Say they who counsel war; 'we are decreed, 160
Reserved, and destined to eternal woe;
Whatever doing, what can we suffer more,
What can we suffer worse?' Is this, then, worst—
Thus sitting, thus consulting, thus in arms?
What when we fled amain, pursued and strook
With Heaven's afflicting thunder, and besought
The Deep to shelter us? This Hell then seemed

A refuge from those wounds. Or when we lay
Chained on the burning lake? That sure was worse.
What if the breath that kindled those grim fires, 170
Awaked, should blow them into sevenfold rage,
And plunge us in the flames; or from above
Should intermitted vengeance arm again
His red right hand to plague us? What if all
Her stores were opened, and this firmament
Of Hell should spout her cataracts of fire,
Impendent horrors, threatening hideous fall
One day upon our heads; while we perhaps,
Designing or exhorting glorious war,
Caught in a fiery tempest, shall be hurled, 180
Each on his rock transfixed, the sport and prey
Of racking whirlwinds, or for ever sunk
Under yon boiling ocean, wrapt in chains,
There to converse with everlasting groans,
Unrespited, unpitied, unreprieved,
Ages of hopeless end? This would be worse.
War, therefore, open or concealed, alike
My voice dissuades; for what can force or guile
With Him, or who deceive His mind, whose eye 189
Views all things at one view? He from Heaven's highth
All these our motions vain sees and derides,
Not more almighty to resist our might
Than wise to frustrate all our plots and wiles.
Shall we, then, live, thus vile—the race of Heaven
Thus trampled, thus expelled, to suffer here
Chains and these torments? Better these than worse,
By my advice; since fate inevitable
Subdues us, and omnipotent decree,
The Victor's will. To suffer, as to do,
Our strength is equal; nor the law unjust 200
That so ordains. This was at first resolved,
If we were wise, against so great a foe
Contending, and so doubtful what might fall.

I laugh when those who at the spear are bold
And venturous, if that fail them, shrink, and fear
What yet they know must follow—to endure
Exile, or ignominy, or bonds, or pain,
The sentence of their conqueror. This is now
Our doom; which if we can sustain and bear,
Our Supreme Foe in time may much remit 210
His anger, and perhaps, thus far removed,
Not mind us not offending, satisfied
With what is punished; whence these raging fires
Will slacken, if his breath stir not their flames.
Our purer essence then will overcome
Their noxious vapour; or, inured, not feel;
Or, changed at length, and to the place conformed
In temper and in nature, will receive
Familiar the fierce heat; and, void of pain,
This horror will grow mild, this darkness light; 220
Besides what hope the never-ending flight
Of future days may bring, what chance, what change
Worth waiting—since our present lot appears
For happy though but ill, for ill not worst,
If we procure not to ourselves more woe."
Thus Belial, with words clothed in reason's garb,
Counselled ignoble ease and peaceful sloth,
Not peace; and after him thus Mammon spake:—
"Either to disenthrone the King of Heaven
We war, if war be best, or to regain 230
Our own right lost. Him to unthrone we then
May hope, when everlasting Fate shall yield
To fickle Chance, and Chaos judge the strife.
The former, vain to hope, argues as vain
The latter; for what place can be for us
Within Heaven's bound, unless Heaven's Lord Supreme
We overpower? Suppose he should relent,
And publish grace to all, on promise made
Of new subjection; with what eyes could we

Stand in his presence humble, and receive 240
Strict laws imposed, to celebrate his throne
With warbled hymns, and to his Godhead sing
Forced Halleluiahs, while he lordly sits
Our envied sovran, and his altar breathes
Ambrosial odours and ambrosial flowers,
Our servile offerings? This must be our task
In Heaven, this our delight. How wearisome
Eternity so spent in worship paid
To whom we hate! Let us not then pursue,
By force impossible, by leave obtained 250
Unacceptable, though in Heaven, our state
Of splendid vassalage; but rather seek
Our own good from ourselves, and from our own
Live to ourselves, though in this vast recess,
Free and to none accountable, preferring
Hard liberty before the easy yoke
Of servile pomp. Our greatness will appear
Then most conspicuous when great things of small,
Useful of hurtful, prosperous of adverse,
We can create, and in what place soe'er 260
Thrive under evil, and work ease out of pain
Through labour and endurance. This deep world
Of darkness do we dread? How oft amidst
Thick clouds and dark doth Heaven's all-ruling Sire
Choose to reside, his glory unobscured,
And with the majesty of darkness round
Covers his throne, from whence deep thunders roar,
Mustering their rage, and Heaven resembles Hell
As He our darkness, cannot we His light
Imitate when we please? This desert soil 270
Wants not her hidden lustre, gems and gold;
Nor want we skill or art from whence to raise
Magnificence; and what can Heaven show more?
Our torments also may, in length of time,
Become our elements, these piercing fires

As soft as now severe, our temper changed
Into their temper; which must needs remove
The sensible of pain. All things invite
To peaceful counsels, and the settled state
Of order, how in safety best we may 280
Compose our present evils, with regard
Of what we are and where, dismissing quite
All thoughts of war. Ye have what I advise."
He scarce had finished, when such murmur filled
The assembly as when hollow rocks retain
The sound of blustering winds, which all night long
Had roused the sea, now with hoarse cadence lull
Seafaring men o'erwatched, whose bark by chance,
Or pinnace, anchors in a craggy bay
After the tempest. Such applause was heard 290
As Mammon ended, and his sentence pleased,
Advising peace: for such another field
They dreaded worse than Hell; so much the fear
Of thunder and the sword of Michaël
Wrought still within them; and no less desire
To found this nether empire which might rise,
By policy and long process of time,
In emulation opposite to Heaven.
Which when Beëlzebub perceived—than whom,
Satan except, none higher sat—with grave 300
Aspect he rose, and in his rising seemed
A pillar of state. Deep on his front engraven
Deliberation sat, and public care;
And princely counsel in his face yet shone,
Majestic, though in ruin. Sage he stood,
With Atlantean shoulders, fit to bear
The weight of mightiest monarchs; his look
Drew audience and attention still as night
Or summer's noontide air, while thus he spake:—
"Thrones and Imperial Powers, Offspring of Heaven, 310
Ethereal Virtues! or these titles now

Must we renounce, and, changing style, be called
Princes of Hell? for so the popular vote
Inclines—here to continue, and build up here
A growing empire; doubtless! while we dream,
And know not that the King of Heaven hath doomed
This place our dungeon—not our safe retreat
Beyond his potent arm, to live exempt
From Heaven's high jurisdiction, in new league
Banded against his throne, but to remain 320
In strictest bondage, though thus far removed,
Under the inevitable curb, reserved
His captive multitude. For He, be sure,
In highth or depth, still first and last will reign
Sole king, and of his kingdom lose no part
By our revolt, but over Hell extend
His empire, and with iron sceptre rule
Us here, as with his golden those in Heaven.
What sit we then projecting peace and war?
War hath determined us and foiled with loss 330
Irreparable; terms of peace yet none
Voutsafed or sought; for what peace will be given
To us enslaved, but custody severe,
And stripes and arbitrary punishment
Inflicted? and what peace can we return,
But, to our power, hostility and hate,
Untamed reluctance, and revenge, though slow,
Yet ever plotting how the Conqueror least
May reap his conquest, and may least rejoice
In doing what we most in suffering feel? 340
Nor will occasion want, nor shall we need
With dangerous expedition to invade
Heaven, whose high walls fear no assault or siege,
Or ambush from the Deep. What if we find
Some easier enterprise? There is a place
(If ancient and prophetic fame in Heaven
Err not)—another World, the happy seat

Of some new race, called Man, about this time
To be created like to us, though less
In power and excellence, but favoured more 350
Of Him who rules above; so was His will
Pronounced among the gods, and by an oath
That shook Heaven's whole circumference confirmed.
Thither let us bend all our thoughts, to learn
What creatures there inhabit, of what mould
Or substance, how endued, and what their power
And where their weakness: how attempted best,
By force or subtlety. Though Heaven be shut,
And Heaven's high Arbitrator sit secure
In his own strength, this place may lie exposed, 360
The utmost border of his kingdom, left
To their defence who hold it: here, perhaps,
Some advantageous act may be achieved
By sudden onset—either with Hell-fire
To waste his whole creation, or possess
All as our own, and drive, as we are driven,
The puny habitants; or, if not drive,
Seduce them to our party, that their God
May prove their foe, and with repenting hand
Abolish his own works. This would surpass 370
Common revenge, and interrupt His joy
In our confusion, and our joy upraise
In His disturbance; when his darling sons,
Hurled headlong to partake with us, shall curse
Their frail original, and faded bliss—
Faded so soon! Advise if this be worth
Attempting, or to sit in darkness here
Hatching vain empires." Thus Beëlzebub
Pleaded his devilish counsel—first devised
By Satan, and in part proposed: for whence, 380
But from the author of all ill, could spring
So deep a malice, to confound the race
Of mankind in one root, and Earth with Hell

To mingle and involve, done all to spite
The great Creator? But their spite still serves
His glory to augment. The bold design
Pleased highly those Infernal States, and joy
Sparkled in all their eyes: with full assent
They vote: whereat his speech he thus renews:—
"Well have ye judged, well ended long debate, 390
Synod of Gods, and, like to what ye are,
Great things resolved, which from the lowest deep
Will once more lift us up, in spite of fate,
Nearer our ancient seat—perhaps in view
Of those bright confines, whence, with neighbouring arms
And opportune excursion, we may chance
Re-enter Heaven; or else in some mild zone
Dwell, not unvisited of Heaven's fair light,
Secure, and at the brightening orient beam
Purge off this gloom: the soft delicious air, 400
To heal the scar of these corrosive fires,
Shall breathe her balm. But, first, whom shall we send
In search of this new World? whom shall we find
Sufficient? who shall tempt with wandering feet
The dark, unbottomed, infinite Abyss,
And through the palpable obscure find out
His uncouth way, or spread his aery flight,
Upborne with indefatigable wings
Over the vast Abrupt, ere he arrive
The happy Isle? What strength, what art, can then 410
Suffice, or what evasion bear him safe
Through the strict senteries and stations thick
Of angels watching round? Here he had need
All circumspection: and we now no less
Choice in our suffrage; for on whom we send
The weight of all, and our last hope, relies."
This said, he sat; and expectation held
His look suspense, awaiting who appeared
To second, or oppose, or undertake

The perilous attempt. But all sat mute, 420
Pondering the danger with deep thoughts; and each
In other's countenance read his own dismay,
Astonished. None among the choice and prime
Of those Heaven-warring champions could be found
So hardy as to proffer or accept,
Alone, the dreadful voyage; till, at last,
Satan, whom now transcendent glory raised
Above his fellows, with monarchal pride
Conscious of highest worth, unmoved thus spake:—
"O Progeny of Heaven! Empyreal Thrones! 430
With reason hath deep silence and demur
Seized us, though undismayed. Long is the way
And hard, that out of Hell leads up to Light.
Our prison strong, this huge convex of fire,
Outrageous to devour, immures us round
Ninefold; and gates of burning adamant,
Barred over us, prohibit all egress.
These passed, if any pass, the void profound
Of unessential Night receives him next,
Wide-gaping, and with utter loss of being 440
Threatens him, plunged in that abortive gulf.
If thence he scape, into whatever world,
Or unknown region, what remains him less
Than unknown dangers, and as hard escape?
But I should ill become this throne, O Peers,
And this imperial sovranty, adorned
With splendour, armed with power, if aught proposed
And judged of public moment in the shape
Of difficulty or danger, could deter
Me from attempting. Wherefore do I assume 450
These royalties, and not refuse to reign,
Refusing to accept as great a share
Of hazard as of honour, due alike
To him who reigns, and so much to him due
Of hazard more as he above the rest

High honoured sits? Go, therefore, mighty Powers,
Terror of Heaven, though fallen; intend at home,
While here shall be our home, what best may ease
The present misery, and render Hell
More tolerable; if there be cure or charm 460
To respite, or deceive, or slack the pain
Of this ill mansion: intermit no watch
Against a wakeful foe, while I abroad
Through all the coasts of dark destruction seek
Deliverance for us all. This enterprise
None shall partake with me." Thus saying, rose
The Monarch, and prevented all reply;
Prudent lest, from his resolution raised,
Others among the chief might offer now,
Certain to be refused, what erst they feared, 470
And, so refused, might in opinion stand
His rivals, winning cheap the high repute
Which he through hazard huge must earn. But they
Dreaded not more the adventure than his voice
Forbidding; and at once with him they rose.
Their rising all at once was as the sound
Of thunder heard remote. Towards him they bend
With awful reverence prone, and as a God
Extol him equal to the Highest in Heaven.
Nor failed they to express how much they praised 480
That for the general safety he despised
His own: for neither do the Spirits damned
Lose all their virtue; lest bad men should boast
Their specious deeds on earth, which glory excites,
Or close ambition varnished o'er with zeal.
Thus they their doubtful consultations dark
Ended, rejoicing in their matchless Chief:
As, when from mountain-tops the dusky clouds
Ascending, while the North wind sleeps, o'erspread
Heaven's cheerful face, the louring element 490
Scowls o'er the darkened landskip snow or shower,

If chance the radiant sun, with farewell sweet,
Extend his evening beam, the fields revive,
The birds their notes renew, and bleating herds
Attest their joy, that hill and valley rings.
O shame to men! Devil with devil damned
Firm concord holds; men only disagree
Of creatures rational, though under hope
Of heavenly grace, and, God proclaiming peace,
Yet live in hatred, enmity, and strife 500
Among themselves, and levy cruel wars
Wasting the earth, each other to destroy:
As if (which might induce us to accord)
Man had not hellish foes enow besides,
That day and night for his destruction wait!
The Stygian council thus dissolved; and forth
In order came the grand Infernal Peers:
Midst came their mighty Paramount, and seemed
Alone the antagonist of Heaven, nor less
Than Hell's dread Emperor, with pomp supreme, 510
And god-like imitated state: him round
A globe of fiery Seraphim enclosed
With bright emblazonry, and horrent arms.
Then of their session ended they bid cry
With trumpet's regal sound the great result:
Toward the four winds four speedy Cherubim
Put to their mouths the sounding alchymy,
By harald's voice explained; the hollow Abyss
Heard far and wide, and all the host of Hell
With deafening shout returned them loud acclaim. 520
Thence more at ease their minds, and somewhat raised
By false presumptuous hope, the rangèd Powers
Disband; and, wandering, each his several way
Pursues, as inclination or sad choice
Leads him perplexed, where he may likeliest find
Truce to his restless thoughts, and entertain
The irksome hours, till his great Chief return.

Part on the plain, or in the air sublime,
Upon the wing or in swift race contend,
As at the Olympian games or Pythian fields; 530
Part curb their fiery steeds, or shun the goal
With rapid wheels, or fronted brigads form:
As when, to warn proud cities, war appears
Waged in the troubled sky, and armies rush
To battle in the clouds; before each van
Prick forth the aery knights, and couch their spears,
Till thickest legions close; with feats of arms
From either end of heaven the welkin burns.
Others, with vast Typhœan rage, more fell,
Rend up both rocks and hills, and ride the air 540
In whirlwind; Hell scarce holds the wild uproar:—
As when Alcides, from Œchalia crowned
With conquest, felt the envenomed robe, and tore
Through pain up by the roots Thessalian pines,
And Lichas from the top of Œta threw
Into the Euboic sea. Others, more mild,
Retreated in a silent valley, sing
With notes angelical to many a harp
Their own heroic deeds, and hapless fall
By doom of battle, and complain that Fate 550
Free Virtue should enthrall to Force or Chance.
Their song was partial; but the harmony
(What could it less when Spirits immortal sing?)
Suspended Hell, and took with ravishment
The thronging audience. In discourse more sweet
(For Eloquence the Soul, Song charms the Sense)
Others apart sat on a hill retired,
In thoughts more elevate, and reasoned high
Of Providence, Foreknowledge, Will, and Fate—
Fixed fate, free will, foreknowledge absolute— 560
And found no end, in wandering mazes lost.
Of good and evil much they argued then,
Of happiness and final misery,

Passion and apathy, and glory and shame:
Vain wisdom all and false philosophy!—
Yet, with a pleasing sorcery, could charm
Pain for a while or anguish, and excite
Fallacious hope, or arm the obdurèd breast
With stubborn patience as with triple steel.
Another part, in squadrons and gross bands, 570
On bold adventure to discover wide
That dismal world, if any clime perhaps
Might yield them easier habitation, bend
Four ways their flying march, along the banks
Of four infernal rivers, that disgorge
Into the burning lake their baleful streams—
Abhorrèd Styx, the flood of deadly hate;
Sad Acheron of sorrow, black and deep;
Cocytus, named of lamentation loud
Heard on the rueful stream; fierce Phlegethon, 580
Whose waves of torrent fire inflame with rage.
Far off from these, a slow and silent stream,
Lethe, the river of oblivion, rolls
Her watery labyrinth, whereof who drinks
Forthwith his former state and being forgets—
Forgets both joy and grief, pleasure and pain.
Beyond this flood a frozen continent
Lies dark and wild, beat with perpetual storms
Of whirlwind and dire hail, which on firm land
Thaws not, but gathers heap, and ruin seems 590
Of ancient pile; all else deep snow and ice,
A gulf profound as that Serbonian bog
Betwixt Damiata and Mount Casius old;
Where armies whole have sunk: the parching air
Burns frore, and cold performs the effect of fire.
Thither, by harpy-footed Furies haled,
At certain revolutions all the damned
Are brought; and feel by turns the bitter change
Of fierce extremes, extremes by change more fierce,

From beds of raging fire to starve in ice 600
Their soft ethereal warmth, and there to pine
Immovable, infixed, and frozen round
Periods of time,—thence hurried back to fire.
They ferry over this Lethean sound
Both to and fro, their sorrow to augment,
And wish and struggle, as they pass, to reach
The tempting stream, with one small drop to lose
In sweet forgetfulness all pain and woe,
All in one moment, and so near the brink;
But Fate withstands, and, to oppose the attempt, 610
Medusa with Gorgonian terror guards
The ford, and of itself the water flies
All taste of living wight, as once it fled
The lip of Tantalus. Thus roving on
In confused march forlorn, the adventurous bands,
With shuddering horror pale, and eyes aghast,
Viewed first their lamentable lot, and found
No rest. Through many a dark and dreary vale
They passed, and many a region dolorous,
O'er many a frozen, many a fiery Alp, 620
Rocks, caves, lakes, fens, bogs, dens, and shades of death—
A universe of death, which God by curse
Created evil, for evil only good;
Where all life dies, death lives, and Nature breeds,
Perverse, all monstrous, all prodigious things,
Abominable, inutterable, and worse
Than fables yet have feigned or fear conceived,
Gorgons, and Hydras, and Chimæras dire.
Meanwhile the Adversary of God and Man,
Satan, with thoughts inflamed of highest design, 630
Puts on swift wings, and toward the gates of Hell
Explores his solitary flight: sometimes
He scours the right hand coast, sometimes the left;
Now shaves with level wing the deep, then soars
Up to the fiery concave towering high.

As when far off at sea a fleet descried
Hangs in the clouds, by equinoctial winds
Close sailing from Bengala, or the isles
Of Ternate and Tidore, whence merchants bring
Their spicy drugs; they on the trading flood, 640
Through the wide Ethiopian to the Cape,
Ply stemming nightly toward the pole: so seemed
Far off the flying Fiend. At last appear
Hell-bounds, high reaching to the horrid roof,
And thrice threefold the gates; three folds were brass,
Three iron, three of adamantine rock,
Impenetrable, impaled with circling fire,
Yet unconsumed. Before the gates there sat
On either side a formidable Shape.
The one seemed woman to the waist, and fair, 650
But ended foul in many a scaly fold,
Voluminous and vast—a serpent armed
With mortal sting. About her middle round
A cry of Hell-hounds never-ceasing barked
With wide Cerberean mouths full loud, and rung
A hideous peal; yet, when they list, would creep,
If aught disturbed their noise, into her womb,
And kennel there; yet there still barked and howled
Within unseen. Far less abhorred than these
Vexed Scylla, bathing in the sea that parts 660
Calabria from the hoarse Trinacrian shore;
Nor uglier follow the night-hag, when, called
In secret, riding through the air she comes,
Lured with the smell of infant blood, to dance
With Lapland witches, while the labouring moon
Eclipses at their charms. The other Shape—
If shape it might be called that shape had none
Distinguishable in member, joint, or limb;
Or substance might be called that shadow seemed,
For each seemed either—black it stood as Night, 670
Fierce as ten Furies, terrible as Hell,

And shook a dreadful dart: what seemed his head
The likeness of a kingly crown had on.
Satan was now at hand, and from his seat
The monster moving onward came as fast
With horrid strides; Hell trembled as he strode.
The undaunted Fiend what this might be admired—
Admired, not feared (God and his Son except,
Created thing naught valued he nor shunned),
And with disdainful look thus first began:— 680
"Whence and what art thou, execrable Shape,
That dar'st, though grim and terrible, advance
Thy miscreated front athwart my way
To yonder gates? Through them I mean to pass,
That be assured, without leave asked of thee.
Retire; or taste thy folly, and learn by proof,
Hell-born, not to contend with Spirits of Heaven."
To whom the Goblin, full of wrath, replied:—
"Art thou that Traitor-Angel, art thou he,
Who first broke peace in Heaven and faith, till then 690
Unbroken, and in proud rebellious arms
Drew after him the third part of Heaven's sons,
Conjured against the Highest—for which both thou
And they, outcast from God, are here condemned
To waste eternal days in woe and pain?
And reckon'st thou thyself with Spirits of Heaven,
Hell-doomed, and breath'st defiance here and scorn,
Where I reign king, and, to enrage thee more,
Thy king and lord? Back to thy punishment,
False fugitive; and to thy speed add wings, 700
Lest with a whip of scorpions I pursue
Thy lingering, or with one stroke of this dart
Strange horror seize thee, and pangs unfelt before."
So spake the grisly Terror, and in shape,
So speaking and so threatening, grew tenfold
More dreadful and deform. On the other side,
Incensed with indignation, Satan stood

Unterrified, and like a comet burned,
That fires the length of Ophiuchus huge
In the arctic sky, and from his horrid hair 710
Shakes pestilence and war. Each at the head
Levelled his deadly aim; their fatal hands
No second stroke intend; and such a frown
Each cast at the other as when two black clouds,
With heaven's artillery fraught, come rattling on
Over the Caspian,—then stand front to front
Hovering a space, till winds the signal blow
To join their dark encounter in mid-air.
So frowned the mighty combatants that Hell
Grew darker at their frown; so matched they stood; 720
For never but once more was either like
To meet so great a foe. And now great deeds
Had been achieved, whereof all Hell had rung,
Had not the snaky Sorceress, that sat
Fast by Hell-gate and kept the fatal key,
Risen, and with hideous outcry rushed between.
"O father, what intends thy hand," she cried,
"Against thy only son? What fury, O son,
Possesses thee to bend that mortal dart
Against thy father's head? And know'st for whom! 730
For Him who sits above, and laughs the while
At thee, ordained his drudge to execute
Whate'er his wrath, which He calls justice, bids—
His wrath which one day will destroy ye both!"
She spake, and at her words the hellish Pest
Forbore: then these to her Satan returned:—
"So strange thy outcry, and thy words so strange
Thou interposest, that my sudden hand,
Prevented, spares to tell thee yet by deeds
What it intends, till first I know of thee 740
What thing thou art, thus double-formed, and why,
In this infernal vale first met, thou call'st
Me father, and that phantasm call'st my son.

I know thee not, nor ever saw till now
Sight more detestable than him and thee."
To whom thus the Portress of Hell-gate replied :—
"Hast thou forgot me, then ; and do I seem
Now in thine eye so foul ?—once deemed so fair
In Heaven, when at the assembly, and in sight
Of all the Seraphim with thee combined 750
In bold conspiracy against Heaven's King,
All on a sudden miserable pain
Surprised thee, dim thine eyes, and dizzy swum
In darkness, while thy head flames thick and fast
Threw forth, till on the left side opening wide,
Likest to thee in shape and countenance bright,
Then shining heavenly fair, a goddess armed,
Out of thy head I sprung. Amazement seized
All the host of Heaven ; back they recoiled afraid
At first, and called me *Sin*, and for a sign 760
Portentous held me ; but, familiar grown,
I pleased, and with attractive graces won
The most averse—thee chiefly, who, full oft
Thyself in me thy perfect image viewing,
Becam'st enamoured ; and such joy thou took'st
With me in secret that my womb conceived
A growing burden. Meanwhile war arose,
And fields were fought in Heaven : wherein remained
(For what could else ?) to our Almighty Foe
Clear victory ; to our part loss and rout 770
Through all the Empyrean. Down they fell,
Driven headlong from the pitch of Heaven, down
Into this Deep ; and in the general fall
I also : at which time this powerful key
Into my hands was given, with charge to keep
These gates for ever shut, which none can pass
Without my opening. Pensive here I sat
Alone ; but long I sat not, till my womb,
Pregnant by thee, and now excessive grown,

Prodigious motion felt and rueful throes. 780
At last this odious offspring whom thou seest,
Thine own begotten, breaking violent way,
Tore through my entrails, that, with fear and pain
Distorted, all my nether shape thus grew
Transformed : but he my inbred enemy
Forth issued, brandishing his fatal dart,
Made to destroy. I fled, and cried out *Death!*
Hell trembled at the hideous name, and sighed
From all her caves, and back resounded *Death!*
I fled ; but he pursued (though more, it seems, 790
Inflamed with lust than rage), and, swifter far,
Me overtook, his mother, all dismayed,
And, in embraces forcible and foul
Engendering with me, of that rape begot
These yelling monsters, that with ceaseless cry
Surround me, as thou saw'st—hourly conceived
And hourly born, with sorrow infinite
To me : for, when they list, into the womb
That bred them they return, and howl, and gnaw
My bowels, their repast ; then, bursting forth 800
Afresh, with conscious terrors vex me round,
That rest or intermission none I find.
Before mine eyes in opposition sits
Grim Death, my son and foe, who sets them on,
And me, his parent, would full soon devour
For want of other prey, but that he knows
His end with mine involved, and knows that I
Should prove a bitter morsel, and his bane,
Whenever that shall be : so Fate pronounced.
But thou, O father, I forewarn thee, shun 810
His deadly arrow ; neither vainly hope
To be invulnerable in those bright arms,
Though tempered heavenly ; for that mortal dint
Save He who reigns above, none can resist."
She finished ; and the subtle Fiend his lore

Soon learned, now milder, and thus answered smooth :—
"Dear daughter—since thou claim'st me for thy sire,
And my fair son here show'st me, the dear pledge
Of dalliance had with thee in Heaven, and joys
Then sweet, now sad to mention, through dire change 820
Befallen us unforeseen, unthought-of—know,
I come no enemy, but to set free
From out this dark and dismal house of pain
Both him and thee, and all the Heavenly host
Of Spirits that, in our just pretences armed,
Fell with us from on high. From them I go
This uncouth errand sole, and one for all
Myself expose, with lonely steps to tread
The unfounded Deep, and through the void immense
To search, with wandering quest, a place foretold 830
Should be—and, by concurring signs, ere now
Created vast and round—a place of bliss
In the purlieus of Heaven ; and therein placed
A race of upstart creatures, to supply
Perhaps our vacant room, though more removed,
Lest Heaven, surcharged with potent multitude,
Might hap to move new broils. Be this, or aught
Than this more secret, now designed, I haste
To know ; and, this once known, shall soon return,
And bring ye to the place where thou and Death 840
Shall dwell at ease, and up and down unseen
Wing silently the buxom air, embalmed
With odours. There ye shall be fed and filled
Immeasurably ; all things shall be your prey."
He ceased ; for both seemed highly pleased, and Death
Grinned horrible a ghastly smile, to hear
His famine should be filled, and blessed his maw
Destined to that good hour. No less rejoiced
His mother bad, and thus bespake her sire :—
"The key of this infernal Pit, by due 850
And by command of Heaven's all-powerful King,

I keep, by Him forbidden to unlock
These adamantine gates ; against all force
Death ready stands to interpose his dart,
Fearless to be o'ermatched by living might.
But what owe I to His commands above,
Who hates me, and hath hither thrust me down
Into this gloom of Tartarus profound,
To sit in hateful office here confined,
Inhabitant of Heaven, and heavenly-born— 860
Here in perpetual agony and pain,
With terrors and with clamours compassed round
Of mine own brood, that on my bowels feed ?
Thou art my father, thou my author, thou
My being gav'st me ; whom should I obey
But thee ? whom follow ? Thou wilt bring me soon
To that new world of light and bliss, among
The gods who live at ease, where I shall reign
At thy right hand voluptuous, as beseems
Thy daughter and thy darling, without end." 870
Thus saying, from her side the fatal key,
Sad instrument of all our woe, she took ;
And, towards the gate rolling her bestial train,
Forthwith the huge portcullis high up-drew,
Which, but herself, not all the Stygian Powers
Could once have moved ; then in the key-hole turns
The intricate wards, and every bolt and bar
Of massy iron or solid rock with ease
Unfastens. On a sudden open fly,
With impetuous recoil and jarring sound, 880
The infernal doors, and on their hinges grate
Harsh thunder, that the lowest bottom shook
Of Erebus. She opened ; but to shut
Excelled her power : the gates wide open stood,
That with extended wings a bannered host,
Under spread ensigns marching, might pass through
With horse and chariots ranked in loose array ;

So wide they stood, and like a furnace-mouth
Cast forth redounding smoke and ruddy flame.
Before their eyes in sudden view appear 890
The secrets of the hoary Deep—a dark
Illimitable ocean, without bound,
Without dimension ; where length, breadth, and highth,
And time, and place, are lost ; where eldest Night
And Chaos, ancestors of Nature, hold
Eternal anarchy, amidst the noise
Of endless wars, and by confusion stand.
For Hot, Cold, Moist, and Dry, four champions fierce,
Strive here for mastery, and to battle bring
Their embryon atoms : they around the flag 900
Of each his faction, in their several clans,
Light-armed or heavy, sharp, smooth, swift, or slow,
Swarm populous, unnumbered as the sands
Of Barca or Cyrene's torrid soil,
Levied to side with warring winds, and poise
Their lighter wings. To whom these most adhere
He rules a moment : Chaos umpire sits,
And by decision more embroils the fray
By which he reigns : next him, high arbiter,
Chance governs all. Into this wild Abyss, 910
The womb of Nature, and perhaps her grave,
Of neither Sea, nor Shore, nor Air, nor Fire,
But all these in their pregnant causes mixed
Confusedly, and which thus must ever fight,
Unless the Almighty Maker them ordain
His dark materials to create more worlds—
Into this wild Abyss the wary Fiend
Stood on the brink of Hell, and looked a while,
Pondering his voyage ; for no narrow frith
He had to cross. Nor was his ear less pealed 920
With noises loud and ruinous (to compare
Great things with small) than when Bellona storms
With all her battering engines, bent to rase

Some capital city ; or less than if this frame
Of heaven were falling, and these elements
In mutiny had from her axle torn
The steadfast Earth. At last his sail-broad vans
He spreads for flight, and, in the surging smoke
Uplifted, spurns the ground ; thence many a league,
As in a cloudy chair, ascending rides 930
Audacious ; but, that seat soon failing, meets
A vast vacuity. All unawares,
Fluttering his pennons vain, plumb down he drops
Ten thousand fathom deep, and to this hour
Down had been falling, had not, by ill chance,
The strong rebuff of some tumultuous cloud,
Instinct with fire and nitre, hurried him
As many miles aloft. That fury stayed—
Quenched in a boggy Syrtis, neither sea, quicksand
Nor good dry land—nigh foundered, on he fares, 940
Treading the crude consistence, half on foot,
Half flying ; behoves him now both oar and sail.
As when a gryphon through the wilderness
With wingèd course, o'er hill or moory dale,
Pursues the Arimaspian, who by stealth
Had from his wakeful custody purloined
The guarded gold ; so eagerly the Fiend
O'er bog or steep, through strait, rough, dense, or rare,
With head, hands, wings, or feet, pursues his way,
And swims, or sinks, or wades, or creeps, or flies. 950
At length a universal hubbub wild
Of stunning sounds and voices all confused,
Borne through the hollow dark, assaults his ear
With loudest vehemence. Thither he plies
Undaunted, to meet there whatever Power
Or Spirit of the nethermost Abyss
Might in that noise reside, of whom to ask
Which way the nearest coast of darkness lies
Bordering on light ; when straight behold the throne

Of *Chaos*, and his dark pavilion spread 960
Wide on the wasteful Deep! With him enthroned
Sat sable-vested *Night*, eldest of things,
The consort of his reign; and by them stood
Orcus and Ades, and the dreaded name
Of Demogorgon; Rumour next, and Chance,
And Tumult, and Confusion, all embroiled,
And Discord with a thousand various mouths.
To whom Satan, turning boldly, thus:—"Ye Powers
And Spirits of this nethermost Abyss,
Chaos and ancient Night, I come no spy 970
With purpose to explore or to disturb
The secrets of your realm; but, by constraint
Wandering this darksome desert, as my way
Lies through your spacious empire up to light,
Alone and without guide, half lost, I seek,
What readiest path leads where your gloomy bounds
Confine with Heaven; or, if some other place,
From your dominion won, the Ethereal King
Possesses lately, thither to arrive
I travel this profound. Direct my course: 980
Directed, no mean recompense it brings
To your behoof, if I that region lost,
All usurpation thence expelled, reduce
To her original darkness and your sway
(Which is my present journey), and once more
Erect the standard there of ancient Night.
Yours be the advantage all, mine the revenge!"
Thus Satan; and him thus the Anarch old,
With faltering speech and visage incomposed,
Answered:—"I know thee, stranger, who thou art— 990
That mighty leading Angel, who of late
Made head against Heaven's King, though overthrown.
I saw and heard; for such a numerous host
Fled not in silence through the frighted Deep,
With ruin upon ruin, rout on rout,

Confusion worse confounded ; and Heaven-gates
Poured out by millions her victorious bands,
Pursuing. I upon my frontiers here
Keep residence ; if all I can will serve
That little which is left so to defend, 1000
Encroached on still through our intestine broils
Weakening the sceptre of old Night : first, Hell,
Your dungeon, stretching far and wide beneath ;
Now lately Heaven and Earth, another world
Hung o'er my realm, linked in a golden chain
To that side Heaven from whence your legions fell !
If that way be your walk, you have not far ;
So much the nearer danger. Go, and speed ;
Havoc, and spoil, and ruin, are my gain."
He ceased ; and Satan staid not to reply, 1010
But, glad that now his sea should find a shore,
With fresh alacrity and force renewed
Springs upward, like a pyramid of fire,
Into the wild expanse, and through the shock
Of fighting elements, on all sides round
Environed, wins his way ; harder beset
And more endangered than when Argo passed
Through Bosporus betwixt the justling rocks,
Or when Ulysses on the larboard shunned
Charybdis, and by the other Whirlpool steered. 1020
So he with difficulty and labour hard
Moved on. With difficulty and labour he ;
But, he once passed, soon after, when Man fell,
Strange alteration ! Sin and Death amain,
Following his track (such was the will of Heaven)
Paved after him a broad and beaten way
Over the dark Abyss, whose boiling gulf
Tamely endured a bridge of wondrous length,
From Hell continued, reaching the utmost Orb
Of this frail World ; by which the Spirits perverse 1030
With easy intercourse pass to and fro

To tempt or punish mortals, except whom
God and good Angels guard by special grace.
But now at last the sacred influence
Of light appears, and from the walls of Heaven
Shoots far into the bosom of dim Night
A glimmering dawn. Here Nature first begins
Her farthest verge, and Chaos to retire,
As from her outmost works, a broken foe,
With tumult less and with less hostile din; 1040
That Satan with less toil, and now with ease,
Wafts on the calmer wave by dubious light,
And, like a weather-beaten vessel, holds
Gladly the port, though shrouds and tackle torn;
Or in the emptier waste, resembling air,
Weighs his spread wings, at leisure to behold
Far off the empyreal Heaven, extended wide
In circuit, undetermined square or round,
With opal towers and battlements adorned
Of living sapphire, once his native seat, 1050
And, fast by, hanging in a golden chain,
This pendent World, in bigness as a star
Of smallest magnitude close by the moon.
Thither, full fraught with mischievous revenge,
Accurst, and in a cursed hour, he hies.

THE END OF THE SECOND BOOK.

NOTES.

1. **first disobedience.** Until Adam sinned and disobeyed God man was without sin.

2. **that forbidden tree,** the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, the fruit of which Adam and Eve were forbidden to taste. As 'forbid' in the active voice can govern two accusatives, one of the person, another of the thing, in the passive we may say either that a person is forbidden to do something, or, as here, that something is forbidden.

mortal taste, taste producing death. 'Mortal' is used in the same sense in the common phrase 'mortal wound.' See i. 766; ii. 729; and note on i. 266.

3. **death.** The whole human race was made liable to death in order to punish Adam and Eve for their act of disobedience.

4. **loss of Eden.** Adam and Eve were also, as a punishment for the same offence, driven out of the beautiful garden of Eden, in which they dwelt before their fall. In this line Eden means the garden of Eden; in the last line of the poem, and in iv. 210, Eden means the country in which the garden was situated. After Adam and Eve had been expelled from the garden of Eden they were still in the country of Eden.

one greater Man, Jesus Christ, who by His death on the cross atoned for the sin of the first man and obtained for the human race restoration to Paradise. Milton does not seem to think that the new Paradise will be identical with the old. See book xii. 463, where he does not decide whether the new blissful seat is to be in heaven or earth. It must be remembered that, though Christ by His life and death secured the eventual restoration of mankind to Paradise, the actual restoration will not be realized until the end of the world, when He will judge the world and receive the righteous into bliss. Therefore the present subjunctive 'restore,' not the imperfect subjunctive, is used, because the restoration to Eden is still in the future as compared with the time at which Milton is writing. These words seem to suggest that the idea of writing a poem on the subject of *Paradise*

Regained, as the natural sequel to *Paradise Lost*, may have been present in Milton's mind long before Ellwood, after reading *Paradise Lost* through, said to him, 'Thou hast said much here of Paradise Lost, but what hast thou to say of Paradise Found?'

5. **Regain** for the human race **the blissful seat**, Paradise.

6. **Sing, Heavenly Muse.** In the opening lines of his two great epics Homer asks for inspiration from the Muse, the Greek goddess of poetry. All later epic poets are fond of imitating the practice of Homer, the father of epic poetry, and in this spirit of imitation Milton determines, like Homer, to begin with an invocation addressed to a Muse. Being a Christian he cannot ask for inspiration from one of the goddesses of Greek mythology, particularly as elsewhere he identifies the Greek deities with devils or fallen angels (see line 508). He therefore invents a new Muse, whom he supposes to have inspired Moses and the other sacred writers. Milton's Muse may be considered as a personification of divine inspiration. In the opening lines of book vii., borrowing, as Dante had done before him, the name of the Greek Muse of astronomy, he calls his Muse Urania (lit., 'the heavenly one'), and addresses her as a goddess, thereby adding a fourth person and perhaps a second deity to the three persons and one God of the Christian Trinity. It is difficult indeed for the poet to escape such inconsistencies when he attempts to combine Greek mythology with Christian theology.

7. The two names Sinai and Horeb, for so the word is usually spelt, are applied in the Bible to one and the same mountain, namely that on which Moses more than once received inspiration from God. See xii. 227; Exodus iii. 1; xix. 20. The conjunction 'or' here shows that either Milton did not identify the two names, or possibly that, if he did so, he was doubtful which was the more suitable appellation. For a similar doubt see iii. 7. Horeb also means in the Bible a valley or district under Mount Horeb, in which sense the word is used in l. 484.

Bentley very needlessly substituted the commonplace 'sacred' for 'secret.' The top of Sinai is called secret, because when Moses went there to receive God's commandments he went alone into a thick cloud, and the rest of the children of Israel were forbidden to approach.

8. **That shepherd**, Moses, who, before he was called by God to deliver Israel from the Egyptian yoke, 'kept the flock of Jethro his father-in-law, the priest of Midian' (Exodus iii. 1). To him is ascribed the authorship of the first five books of the Bible, called the Pentateuch, in the opening verses of which we are told how 'in the beginning God created the heaven and the earth' (Genesis i. 1). Chaos, which prevailed everywhere before the creation of the world, is described in book ii. 890-915, and the creation is described in book vii.

the chosen seed, the Israelites who were God's chosen people, that is the people chosen by God to receive His peculiar favour. 'Seed' is here used for 'people' with reference to their common ancestor. In the sacred promises made to Abraham the Israelites are generally spoken of as his seed, that is his descendants.

10. **Sion hill** was the mountain on which Jerusalem was built. Milton supposes that the Hebrew Muse takes especial delight in the hill of Sion, because David, the great Israelite king and poet, lived in Jerusalem and celebrated that city in his Psalms.

11. **Siloa's brook** was a stream flowing near the Temple of Jerusalem. It is mentioned by Isaiah (viii. 6), the greatest of the prophetical poets of Jerusalem. Thus in this passage Milton alludes to the three greatest names in Hebrew literature, Moses, David, and Isaiah, whom he assumes to have been the especial favourites of the Hebrew Muse now invoked by himself.

12. **Fast by**, close by. 'Fast,' in the sense of 'swift,' is by derivation a different word from 'fast' meaning 'tight,' used in such expressions as 'make fast the door.' The sense of 'close,' which the adverb bears here, is naturally connected with the meaning of 'tight.' One thing tightly fastened to another is usually very close to it.

the oracle of God was the temple of God in Jerusalem (1 Kings vi. 19).

14. **with no middle flight.** Milton is fond of insisting upon the sublimity of his subject. See ix. 14-19; vii. 12-14.

15. **the Aonian mount**, Mount Helicon, a Greek mountain sacred to the Muses. Thus to 'soar above the Aonian mount' means to write poetry upon a higher theme than that chosen by Homer or any other Greek poet.

16. Milton here speaks as if no one had before him attempted to describe in prose or poetry the overthrow of Satan and the fall of man. This claim to perfect originality in the choice of subject is not literally true. Several writers had treated this subject in prose and poetry, although no one had attempted to make it the subject of an epic poem that was to rival the great epics of Greece and Rome. See Introduction, pp. x.-xvii.

rhyme here means poetry. When Milton wished to speak of rhyme in the modern sense of the word he wrote 'rime' without the 'h.' 'Rime,' used to express the modern sense of the word 'rhyme,' occurs six times in the short preface to *Paradise Lost*, in which the poet insists upon the superiority of blank verse.

17. As the Spirit of God is the third person of the Christian Trinity, Milton here asks for inspiration from God himself. The ordinary Christian and Jewish belief is that only the biblical writers are inspired. But Milton believes himself to be inspired

like them. His widow used to tell those who conversed with her that such was his belief. See also the passage from 'The Reason of Church Government' quoted in the Introduction, p. xviii.

18. **Before all temples.** 1 Cor. iii. 16.

19. **from the first**, from the beginning of the world. 'And the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters' (Genesis i. 2).

22. **mad'st it pregnant.** The first chapter of Genesis, after the verse quoted above, goes on to tell us how the world which was at first 'without form and void,' successively produced the vegetable world, the heavenly bodies, fish, fowl, beasts of the earth, and finally man.

24. **to the highth**, not falling below the sublimity of this grand subject.

argument, subject of a poem. Thus Milton calls the short epitomes prefixed to each book of *Paradise Lost* arguments.

25. **Providence**, when used in a religious sense, either means the wisdom and foresight with which God governs the world, or God Himself, the wise ruler of the world. In the former case it is an abstract term meaning a quality, in the latter it is a concrete term meaning the person who has the quality. Here and in l. 162, 'providence' means the quality, but in xii. 647 the concrete meaning is intended to be combined with the abstract meaning.

26. Pope borrowed this line with little alteration. See *Essay on Man*, i. 16.

27. Milton was fond of working into his poem many verses taken from the Bible. This parenthesis is evidently a reminiscence of David's words, 'Whither shall I flee from thy presence? If I ascend up into heaven thou art there; if I make my bed in hell, behold thou art there' (Psalm cxxxix. 7, 8).

29. **grand Parents**, remote ancestors. A grandparent (written in one word) is a parent's parent.

30. **Favoured of.** See l. 508.

fall off from, revolt against.

32. **For one restraint.** The one restraint was that they were forbidden to eat the fruit of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil.

The prepositional phrase 'for one restraint' may be taken with 'transgress His will,' the thought being that the one restraint was the cause that made them transgress His will. They were irritated at this restraint, and therefore transgressed God's will, although they were lords of the whole world except the forbidden tree.

Some commentators prefer to put a comma after 'will,' and

take 'for one restraint' with 'lords of the world besides.' With this punctuation 'for' must mean 'in spite of,' a meaning which this preposition bears in the common phrase 'for all that' (as, 'he was advised not to go, but, for all that, he went'). The meaning will then be that this prohibition did not prevent them from being lords of almost the whole world, namely of all the world except the forbidden tree. Wherever 'for' means 'in spite of' it has its common meaning as introducing a preventive cause (see note on l. 394), the writer or speaker really having in his mind a negative thought, though he expresses himself affirmatively. Thus, if 'for' in this passage means 'in spite of,' it is because 'for one restraint lords of the world besides' is equivalent to 'not the less for (because of) one restraint lords of the world besides.' 'For' here would then have exactly the same meaning as in the *Ode on the Nativity*, l. 73, except that there that which is not prevented is expressed negatively, while here it happens to be expressed affirmatively. This use of 'for' is therefore an instance of construction according to the sense, as the preposition does not suit the expressed words, but other words that might have been used to express exactly the same meaning. Compare ll. 521, 629.

36. **what time his pride Had cast him out of Heaven,** when owing to his pride he had revolted against God and been driven out of heaven.

39. It is difficult to reconcile this line with what Milton elsewhere says of Satan's exalted position among the angels, and especially with v. 812, where he is declared by Abdiel to have been already, before his rebellion, 'in place high above his peers.' Todd gets over the difficulty by emphasizing the words 'in glory' and regarding 'above his peers' as unimportant. Satan had always been above his peers, but was ambitious to be above them *in glory* as a god and monarch, not merely as a superior angel. The word 'glory' is often throughout the poem used to express the glory of God, as in l. 370, ii. 265, and we read in ii. 427 of the 'transcendent glory' which raised Satan as monarch of hell above his fellows, so that it might possibly be pressed to mean more than the ordinary pre-eminence of a more mighty over a less mighty angel.

But there is another way of explaining the passage, which seems preferable. Nowhere in the poem does the sense necessarily require that the term 'Peers' shall include all the angels, and in most passages where the term is used it evidently has a narrower meaning. Thus in i. 618, 757, ii. 507, x. 456 the Peers meant are evidently the higher fallen angels, 'the great Seraphic Lords and Cherubim' of i. 794, as distinguished from the ordinary lower fallen angels. This being the case we may assume that, in the passage before us, the Peers whom Satan aspired to

surpass in glory were not the ordinary angels, but only those who were Archangels like himself (Michael, Gabriel, Raphael, Uriel), and therefore his equals in power and glory.

41. **If he opposed,** if he (Satan) opposed God.

45. **flaming,** because they were burnt with the Messiah's thunder. See l. 601 and the account of the final overthrow of Satan's host in the end of book vi.

ethereal. Many ancient Greek philosophers to the four ordinary elements (earth, air, fire, and water) added a fifth element called the aether, which was high above the common air and formed the substance of the stars of heaven. Milton adopts this doctrine (see iii. 716), and, although he never uses the noun 'aether,' throughout his poetry, distinguishes between the air below and the aether above, which he regards as the substance out of which heaven and the angels of heaven were created. Formed from aether we find the adjective 'ethereal' here and in i. 285; ii. 139, 311, 601, which must be carefully distinguished from 'aerial' and 'aery' (see i. 430, 775; ii. 407), the adjectives standing for the common air. As the aether was supposed to be a kind of subtle fire, we find 'empyreal' (derived from the Greek word for fire) used as a synonym for 'ethereal' (i. 117; ii. 430, 1047). 'Empyreal substance' (i. 117) is exactly equivalent to 'ethereal mould' (ii. 139). For the same reason the heaven, as being formed of aether, is called the empyrean (ii. 771). Thus in this passage the ethereal sky means heaven, the empyrean, the region occupied by God and His angels.

46. **ruin,** in the sense of the Latin *ruina*, downfall.

47. **To bottomless perdition,** to eternal misery in the bottomless pit. The epithet 'bottomless,' properly applicable to the pit, the place of perdition, is transferred to 'perdition,' in connection with which it suggests unfathomable depths of endless misery. Perdition is the opposite of salvation.

48. **adamantine.** See note on ii. 646.

49. **Who durst,** because he durst. The antecedent is 'him' in line 44.

50. The poet perhaps uses, instead of the ordinary words nine days and nights, this periphrasis to remind us of the fact that there was no sun in hell to mark by its rising and setting the succession of days and nights. In fact, at the time when Satan fell the sun had not yet been created. The creation of the world, including the sun, took place in the course of the nine days during which the fallen angels lay prostrate.

57. The following line, which evidently describes Satan's own state of mind, makes it clear that 'witness'd' means not 'saw' but 'gave evidence of.' From the expression of Satan's eyes it

was manifest that Satan was, though afflicted, full of obdurate pride and steadfast hate.

59. **as far as Angel's ken**, as far as an angel can see. The noun 'ken' (connected with 'cunning' and 'know') means 'range of sight.' Compare Keats' Sonnet on Chapman's Homer—

> 'Then felt I as some watcher of the skies
> When some new planet swims into his ken.'

Todd reads, 'as far as angels ken,' taking 'ken' as a verb.

63, 64. The groundwork of this description of the fires of hell is to be found in the words of Job (x. 22), who describes death as 'a land of darkness, as darkness itself, and where the light is as darkness.' The two lines contain an oxymoron or apparent contradiction. As the eye can only see visible objects by means of light, darkness tempered by no light would be pitch darkness, in which no object could be seen. We must therefore understand the poet to mean by his contradictory language that the flames did give a little light, although this dim light, compared with any other light, would appear to be perfect darkness, absence of light, no light, and that by this dim light sights of woe could just be seen. **Visible darkness** will then mean darkness through which objects could be seen, though with difficulty. The expression may be regarded as an instance of hypallage, the epithet 'visible' being transferred from the objects in the darkness to the darkness in which those objects are visible. See note on 'wandering mazes,' ii. 561. This seems better than to suppose that the poet meant 'darkness capable of being seen,' for as all darkness is perceptible to the eye, such an attribute would not distinguish the darkness of hell from any other kind of darkness.

64. **discover**, reveal.

66. This is another verbal contradiction. If hope comes to all it must come also to those in hell. Therefore 'all' must be limited so as to include all except those who are in hell. Milton no doubt is thinking of the well-known inscription over the gate of Dante's Hell, 'All hope abandon, ye who enter here.'

70. **Justice** is subject of 'had prepared,' '(had) ordained,' and '(had) set.'

71. **those rebellious** (angels). See l. 521.

72. **utter darkness**, total darkness. In like manner an utter stranger is a perfect stranger. We have seen that this does not exactly agree with lines 63, 64. 'Utter' is a comparative formed from 'out,' and is therefore by derivation the same word as 'outer,' which retains its original literal meaning. The corresponding superlatives are 'outmost' and 'utmost.' It is possible that 'utter' in this passage may be used in its literal sense, as the darkness of hell was outside of the bright region of heaven.

'Utter' is used again in iii. 16 of the darkness of hell. Perhaps in both passages the two meanings of 'utter' are combined.

74. The distance between heaven and hell is thrice as great as the distance between the earth and the farthest extremity of the sky; that is, thrice as great as the radius of the starry universe. The centre here means the earth, the centre of the sidereal system according to the Ptolemaic astronomy, which Milton usually adopts for poetical purposes throughout the poem, although in the eighth book he makes the angel Raphael suggest the possibility of the Copernican theory being true. 'Pole' in this passage means the vault of heaven, as in iv. 724. In ii. 642 it means the South Pole.

78. **weltering**, rolling. The verb is generally used to express rolling in something unpleasant, *e.g.*, to welter in blood or in filth, and so appropriately describes the uneasy movements of Beelzebub as he lay outstretched on the burning soil of hell.

81. **Beelzebub** was one of the heathen gods whom Milton represented as being in reality devils. In the case of Beelzebub, at any rate, this identification is supported by Jewish tradition, as is shown by Matt. x. 25, where Beelzebub is called 'the prince of the devils.' The same verse explains on what authority Milton chose Beelzebub as Satan's second in command.

82. **thence**, on that account, because he was the arch-enemy. 'Satan' in Hebrew means 'adversary.'

84. **beest** is a now obsolete form of the second person present indicative of the substantive verb.

The conditional clause with which this speech commences has no principal sentence. Its meaning is really complete in itself, and a principal sentence is only required on grammatical grounds. The doubt expressed by the conditional particle 'if' is an indirect expression of wonder at the great change that has made Beelzebub appear to be a different person from what he was before. The whole speech is full of broken sentences purposely left without regular syntax in order to express the disturbed state of the speaker's mind.

87. **if he**, if (thou beest) he. The conditional clause being resumed after an interruption, these two words are repeated so that the sense may be more easily followed.

92. **fallen** may be said to agree with 'whom' (l. 87), the object of 'joined,' or with 'me' (l. 90), but it is more probably plural agreeing with 'us' understood, namely, Satan and Beelzebub, the two persons joined by misery, although the grammatical object of 'joined' happens to be not 'us' but 'whom.' 'Into what pit thou seest from what highth fallen' is elliptical for 'fallen—thou seest into what pit and from what height we have fallen.' Instead of ordinary prepositional phrases (*e.g.*, into

a deep pit from a great height) following 'fallen,' by a change of construction a parenthetic verb, 'thou seest,' governing an elliptically expressed indirect question as object is introduced. By this change Satan appeals to Beelzebub's own eyes as verifying what he says. The sentence is further complicated by introducing, according to Greek idiom, two questions, in this case indirect questions, into one noun sentence without a conjunction to join them. In Greek you can say 'Whence will you go whither,' in English we must say 'Whence will you go, and whither.' Milton, however, in his fondness for the classical languages, never hesitates to combine English words into the idiomatic forms of Greek and Latin. This continual adoption of Greek and Latin idioms is one of the characteristics of his style, of which we shall have numerous examples. Owing to this peculiarity many of his sentences read like too literal translations of Greek and Roman writers.

93. As Newton remarks, here and in l. 257 Satan 'disdains to utter the name of God, though he cannot but acknowledge His superiority.' All through the speeches in the 1st and 2nd books the fallen angels avoid speaking of 'God' or 'Jehovah,' as these two names are too suggestive of reverent awe to suit their characters.

94. **for those**, on account of those arms.

95. **what...else**, anything else which. 'Else' is an adjective agreeing with the compound relative pronoun 'what.'

105. **the field**, the place on which a battle is fought, and so the battle. In the phrase 'to lose the field' the word 'field' may partially retain its original meaning, as it is a confession of defeat to retreat from the field of battle and leave it in possession of the victorious enemy. In ii. 768 'field' is used for 'battle' without any regard to the literal meaning of the word.

106. Understand 'are not lost' from the previous sentence with 'the unconquerable will' and the three following subjects, to which line 109 will add a fifth subject unless it is taken as a question.

109. The original edition of *Paradise Lost* and all editions previous to that of Dr. Newton place a note of interrogation at the end of this line. This note of interrogation, which was left out in the editions of Newton, Todd, and Keightley, has been restored by Professor Masson.

If we take the line as interrogative, 'not to be overcome' is equivalent either to the noun 'invincibility' or to the adjective 'invincible.' Thus the sentence will mean either 'What else is invincibility' a question expecting the answer 'No,' and therefore equivalent to 'Invincibility is nothing else but, *i.e.*, is identical with the retention of an unconquerable will, revenge, immortal

hate, and courage, never to submit'; or 'What else is invincible,' another question expecting the answer 'No,' and therefore equivalent to 'Nothing else is invincible but an unconquerable will, etc.' Thus by the question Satan lays claim either to invincibility or to the possession of the only four invincible qualities.

If we place a semicolon after 'overcome' the meaning is slightly different. Then the line means 'and all other invincible qualities (still remains to us),' that is, the four invincible qualities mentioned and all other invincible qualities, that might be mentioned, remain.

110. All the best editors, including Prof. Masson, put a full stop at the end of this sentence. Following their punctuation we must take 'that glory' as referring to what goes before, and meaning the invincibility in which Satan gloried in the immediately preceding lines. Otherwise we might be tempted to regard 'that glory' as in apposition to 'to bow and sue for grace and deify his power,' acts of homage which if rendered would in Satan's opinion be a great glory and triumph to God.

116. **by fate.** Milton, or rather Satan, seems to adopt the view of some Greek tragic poets, that even the Gods are subject to the decrees of destiny. Satan in his pride exalts himself and the other angels to the rank of Gods. See ii. 391.

117. **empyreal substance.** The angels were not like men created out of the dust of the earth; their bodies consisted of a nobler substance, which is here called empyreal. See note on l. 45.

122. Milton likes to introduce such long words as 'irreconcilable' to add dignity to his verse and relieve the monosyllabic monotony generally characteristic of English poetry. As there are not many such polysyllabic words in the English language, the poet often has recourse to long resounding names of places and persons taken from foreign languages. See end of note on l. 288.

123. In this verse the accent falls on the second syllable of 'triumphs.' Many words have changed their accent since the times of Milton and Shakespeare. See l. 58, where 'obdurate' has the accent on the second syllable instead of, as in modern English, on the first syllable.

124. **tyranny** in Greek meant 'monarchy usurped,' whether the sovereign was mild or cruel. If Milton is using the word in its Greek sense, he does not in this line make Satan attribute to God cruel exercise of power.

126. **racked**, tortured. The rack was an instrument of torture in the form of a frame on which prisoners were stretched.

128. **throned Powers.** See l. 324.

129. **Seraphim.** Milton throughout *Paradise Lost* uses the

Hebrew plurals 'Seraphim' and 'Cherubim' instead of 'Seraphs' and 'Cherubs.'

139. **remains.** The singular verb may here be explained as due to the fact that 'mind and spirit' together represent one idea, namely, the soul as opposed to the body. See ii. 495.

141. **Though all our glory** (be) **extinct, and** (our) **happy state** (be) **swallowed up.** Milton often omits the substantive verb, as it is often omitted in Greek and Latin. See end of note on l. 92. As the glory of the angels was their bright splendour, the word 'extinct,' commonly used of light quenched, is appropriate.

144. **Of force,** necessarily.

148. **suffice,** satisfy.

152. **the gloomy deep,** Chaos.

155. **To undergo** goes with 'strength' and 'eternal being.' Their strength and eternal being will only enable them to undergo punishment.

160. Beelzebub ended his speech by lamenting that their strength was useless, as it would only enable them to suffer eternally. Satan replies that those who are weak are miserable, whether they do or suffer, which implies that those who are strong have always in their consciousness of power one solid ground of satisfaction whether they do or suffer.

161. **His high will Whom we resist,** the high will of Him whom we resist.

167. **if I fail not** (Lat., *ni fallor*), if I am not deceived. This is an unusual meaning to give to the word 'fail,' although several other derivatives of the Latin *fallo* imply errors in judgment, *e.g.*, fallible, fallacious (ii. 568).

172. **o'erblown hath laid The fiery surge.** 'Laid' means caused to lie down, calmed. Owing to the storm of hail having blown over (ceased to blow) the fiery waves have subsided. Here according to a figure of speech several times employed by Latin writers, the storm is said to calm the waves, because, when the storm is over, the waves subside. Or, we may, if we prefer, regard 'the hail o'erblown' as equivalent to 'the overblowing or termination of the storm of hail,' that is, 'the calm succeeding the storm of hail,' in which case we must compare the passage with l. 573.

176. **his shafts.** The possessive '**its**' is not found in use until the very end of the sixteenth century, and in Milton's time had not yet established itself firmly in the English language. The word is rare in Shakespeare and only occurs thrice in Milton's poetry. Where a modern writer would use 'its,' Milton generally prefers 'his' or 'her.' 'His' may be either the possessive of 'he' or a neuter possessive standing for 'hits,' which was cor-

rupted into the two forms 'his' and 'its.' Eventually 'its' drove out the other neuter form 'his,' which was inconvenient as being indistinguishable from the masculine 'his'; but in Milton's time 'his' was used both as the masculine and neuter possessive. In this line and in many other passages we cannot be sure whether 'his' is intended to be the possessive of the masculine or of the neuter pronoun.

178. **Let us not slip**, let us not let slip. 'Slip' is here used transitively. See ii. 789, 920.

179. **satiate**, satiated. Milton and the Elizabethan writers often leave out the participial suffix 'd' in the case of verbs ending in 'd,' 't,' and 'te.' This is most frequently done by Milton when, as in this case, the verb is derived from the Latin, and the omission of 'd' makes the English more like the Latin participle. Thus, 'satiate' without the 'd' is very like the Latin *satiatus*. But see l. 193. The former prevalence of this practice is shown by the number of participial adjectives in modern English which do not end in 'd,' *e.g.*, insatiate, sedate, ornate.

180. **forlorn**, desolate and gloomy.

182. Here we are distinctly told, in contradiction to l. 63, that the flames of hell did give forth some light. The weird horror of the scene is enhanced by the fact that the flames were not in colour like ordinary flames, but livid, that is, blue-black. The blueness of the flames must be supposed to be due to the prevalence in hell of sulphur (l. 69), which burns with a blue flame. Keightley explains the seeming contradiction between 'pale light' and 'livid flames' by suggesting that Milton had in his mind the effect of such light on the human countenance. Cf. 'oblivious pool' in l. 266. More probably 'pale' means faint. In Hamlet i. 5 the glowworm, when his light becomes fainter at the approach of dawn, is said to "pale his ineffectual fire."

186. **powers**, armies.

191. **If** (we can) **not** (gain any reinforcement from hope, **let us** consult), **what resolution** (we may gain) **from despair**.

192. **Thus Satan** (spake).

193. **uplift**, uplifted. The suffix 'd' is left out, although 'uplift' is not of Latin derivation. See l. 179.

196. **many a rood**. 'Rood' is in the objective case to denote extent. A rood is a quarter of an acre.

197. **As whom**, as those whom. The antecedent is omitted, as in ii. 27.

198. Jupiter or Jove subdued the Titans and the Gigantes in two distinct wars. Milton seems to use 'Earthborn' as equivalent to Giants, for the word 'giant,' according to the usual

derivation, means earthborn. It is not however a well-chosen word to express the distinction between the Titans and the Giants, as the Titans also had Gaea, the Earth, for their mother. Typhoeus or Typhon was one of the Giants who made war against Jupiter, and from his place in the context we should expect Briareos to be one of the leading Titans. Briareos however was not a Titan, but a huge monster with a hundred hands who, according to the usual account, assisted Jupiter in his war against the Titans. Tarsus is an ancient city of Cilicia, in which country, according to Pindar, Typhoeus had his den.

201. **Leviathan** is a term applied to a sea-monster in the Bible. Whether the creature meant in the Bible is the whale, or the crocodile, or sometimes the one and sometimes the other, is uncertain. Milton here and in vii. 412 is evidently describing the whale, although he ascribes to it a 'scaly rind' (l. 206). This attribute is given to the Leviathan from Job xli. 15, in which chapter the sacred writer is describing the Leviathan in terms that seem to show that the crocodile is meant. Whales have no scales.

202. This line must be scanned

Creat|ed hugest|that swim|the o|cean-stream.

The second foot may be considered an iambus, 'hugest' being pronounced 'hug'st' as a monosyllable, or it may be an irregular trisyllabic foot with an accent on the middle syllable, like the first foot of ii. 877. The heavy movement of the line helps to bring before the mind the unwieldy bulk of the monster described.

swim, properly an intransitive verb, is here used transitively in the sense of 'traverse by swimming.' See l. 521.

ocean-stream. Ocean is described by Homer as a great river flowing round the earth.

204. **pilot** here means captain, which seems to have been the original meaning of the word. It afterwards came to mean steersman, and now means one who guides ships into and out of particular harbours. 'Pilot' is opposed to 'steeramate' (steersman) in *S. A.* 1044.

night-foundered, that has lost its way in the darkness of night. A foundered ship ordinarily means a ship that has sunk to the bottom of the sea, but that meaning evidently does not suit the present context. 'Night-foundered' is used in *Comus* 483 of a person lost in the night.

205. **Deeming some island.** Olaus Magnus, a Swedish author of the sixteenth century, wrote a chapter about 'anchors fixed in the backs of whales,' and that chapter is perhaps the source from which Milton derives his information. A similar incident

is related in the *Arabian Nights* as occurring in the first voyage of Sindbad.

207. **under the lee**, on the side of the monster sheltered from the wind. The side of a ship or island that is exposed to the wind is called the windward side.

208. **Invests**, covers as with a garment.

wished morn delays. The sailors so eagerly wish for the light of morning to come and show them where they are, that the night seems unusually long. The fact that, when we are very eager for something in the future, time seems to pass very slowly, is expressed in the homely English proverb, 'A watched kettle never boils.'

211. **Had risen**, would have risen.

212. **high permission.** The epithet 'high' expresses reverence for God's will. See xi. 81.

213. **at large**, free, unconfined.

222. As he rises, the waves of fire are by his motion driven violently away from him with their points no longer pointing straight up, but sloping outwards as they topple over. The 'horrid vale' is the hollow space where Satan had been lying. This space is temporarily left vacant, until the waves roll back and fill it up again. The fact that this hollow remains for a perceptible period after Satan's rise, and that the waves are represented as toppling over, shows that Milton regarded the lake of fire as only partially fluid.

230. **And such appeared in hue** is a relative sentence, coordinate with 'that ever burned' (l. 228). This and the following lines describe the appearance not of Satan, but of the shore of the lake, which resembled the spectacle produced when a hill is torn from Pelorus or from Mount Aetna's shattered side. In this way of taking the passage 'shattered side' as well as Pelorus is governed by the preposition 'from.' The exact meaning is however, it must be confessed, very doubtful. There is nothing in the sense or in the grammar to prevent 'shattered side' from being the object of 'transports,' or the subject of 'appears' understood. In the last-mentioned way of taking the passage, the meaning expressed in full would be, 'And such appeared in hue, as Pelorus appears when subterranean wind transports a hill from it, or as the shattered side of Aetna appears under similar circumstances.'

234. **fuelled**, full of fuel or combustible matter.

thence, from the subterranean wind. The inside of Aetna catches fire from the winds, and then aids the winds in the work of tearing the hill.

235. **Sublimed**, lifted up, from the literal meaning of the Lat.

sublimis. Prof. Masson understands 'sublimed' here to be equivalent to the chemical word 'sublimated,' which means 'converted by heat into vapour in order that it may become solid again in a purer form.'

236. **singed bottom.** The singed bottom is the part of Aetna from which the hill has been torn away, more definitely described than in l. 232. There it was called a shattered side, which merely brings before our minds the roughness produced by the violence of the disruption. It is now described in words indicating the effects of fire, so that we more clearly perceive its resemblance to the shore of solid fire on which Satan alighted.

241. See l. 212.

244. **That we must change for heaven,** that we must have instead of heaven. To change x for y generally means to give x and get y in exchange, not as here to give y and get x in exchange. **Gloom** is object of 'must we change,' understood from the previous sentence.

247. **farthest from Him,** the farthest distance from him. Milton uses adjectives instead of abstract nouns in imitation of classical usage. See xi. 4, 'the stony' for 'stony hardness,' and ii. 278.

248. **Whom reason hath equalled** (with us), who, though equal, *i.e.*, not superior to us in reason, has gained the superiority over us by force. Keightley understands 'reason' to mean 'the reason of things, the rule according to which they were constituted,' but it is more natural to take the word in its usual sense as meaning the attribute which distinguishes gods, angels, and men from the lower animals.

254. **The mind is its own place.** Strictly speaking, this sentence involves contradictory ideas. The mind, being immaterial and unextended, cannot be a portion of space and cannot be a place. Nor can anything be the place of itself. However, in spite of these contradictions, the meaning is quite clear. Milton is expressing in epigrammatic words the common truth that the mind is not dependent on its circumstances, but on itself, for happiness. Other things depend for their wellbeing on their surroundings, that is, on their place; the mind depends upon itself, so that the mind is to itself what their place is to other things. Compare *Comus* 381-385. The best known expression of this idea in English literature is,

> 'Stone walls do not a prison make,
> Nor iron bars a cage;
> Minds innocent and cheerful take
> That for a hermitage.'

This is one of the three passages in Milton's poetry in which he uses 'its.' See l. 176.

257. **What I should be, all but less than he,** all that I should be, but less, *i.e.*, except for the fact that I am less. The meaning would be clearer if a comma were inserted between 'all' and 'but.' The difficulty of the passage arises from the fact that 'all but' in modern English usually means 'almost,' and comes not, as here, before the exception, which prevents the whole from being predicable, but before the whole, which, owing to some trifling exception, is not predicable. Thus in ordinary English Satan might have said, 'What matters where, if I still be all but (*i.e.*, almost) what I should be?' However, even in ordinary English, we sometimes find 'all but' followed by a word meaning an exception, *e.g.*, Caesar was king of Rome in all but the name. Prof. Masson suggests the possibility of 'albeit' having been the word actually dictated by Milton.

258. **hath not built here for his envy,** has not constructed in hell anything that he could possibly covet. Satan expects therefore that he will be left in undisturbed possession of hell.

263. Todd compares P. Fletcher's 'Locusts':—

> 'To be in heaven the second he disdains:
> So now the first in hell and flames he raignes.'

For other parallels see Introduction, p. xiii.

266. **oblivious pool,** pool that causes forgetfulness. Cf. 'the insane root that takes the reason prisoner,' Macbeth i. 3, and 'sweet oblivious antidote,' Macbeth v. 3. So in l. 2 'mortal taste' meant taste that caused mortality, or made men mortal.

Milton calls the lake oblivious, because the river of Lethe in the hell of Greek mythology made all who drank of it forget their former existence. Here, as elsewhere, he mixes together classical and biblical conceptions. In the references to hell in the Bible there is no mention of a lake or river of forgetfulness. The epithet 'oblivious' may however be defended on biblical authority by quoting from the Psalms the description of hell as 'the land where all things are forgotten,' although the references to hell in the New Testament imply that sinners punished there remember the sins committed on earth for which they are punished.

276. **perilous edge,** most critical point. Milton is probably thinking of a very common Greek proverb used by Homer and others, which describes things at a perilous crisis as being on the edge of a razor. The Greek word for 'edge' also by itself means a crisis. Perhaps however 'edge' here merely means 'front.'

282. And it is no wonder that they should be astounded, seeing that they have fallen such a pernicious height. A measure of the pernicious height they fell is given in l. 74.

'Pernicious,' from Lat. *pernicies* (destruction) here means 'great,' 'tremendous.'

284. **Was moving towards the shore.** From this we must infer that Satan in l. 227 had alighted on dry land at some distance from the margin of the lake. He now moves towards the beach, in order that he may address his followers, who are still rolling in the lake of fire.

285. **Ethereal temper,** a piece of armour tempered in heaven. 'Temper' here means an object tempered, just as 'dread' in l. 406 means something dreaded, and as 'work' often means a bridge, or a railway station, or any object produced by work. 'Temper' in this passage, being concrete in meaning, can stand in apposition to the concrete term 'shield.'

288. **optic glass,** telescope. In this line Milton is referring to Galileo, whom he visited in Florence, when he was travelling in Italy. Galileo is mentioned by name in v. 262, and is referred to again in iii. 590. Fesole is a hill above Florence, and Valdarno (the valley of the Arno) is the valley in which Florence lies. Milton is glad to introduce these two Italian names and the still more sonorous Vallombrosa (l. 303) to increase the effect of his verse, not only by the power of association (see end of note on l. 574) but also by the sound. He and Dryden, when they imitated the long resounding lines of their Greek and Latin models, found themselves placed at a disadvantage by the exceedingly monosyllabic character of the English language. To remedy this they freely introduced into their verses proper names from foreign languages, and preferred polysyllabic words of Latin derivation to their shorter Anglo-Saxon equivalents. Thus, according to Mr. Marsh, while in the vocabulary of the English Bible and in Shakespeare about sixty per cent. of the words are of English origin, in the poetical works of Milton less than thirty-three per cent. are Anglo-Saxon. This procedure is clearly laid down and justified by Dryden in his Dedication of the *Aeneid*. 'If sounding words,' he argues, 'are not of our growth and manufacture, who shall hinder me to import them from a foreign country? I carry not out the treasure of the nation which is never to return; but what I bring from Italy I spend in England: here it remains and here it circulates; for if the coin be good it will pass from one hand to another. I trade both with the living and the dead for the enrichment of our native language. We have enough in England to supply our necessity; but, if we will have things of magnificence and splendour, we must get them by commerce. Poetry requires ornament, and that is not to be had from our old Teuton monosyllables.'

291. **spotty globe.** The epithet 'spotty' is appropriate in the context as the dark and bright spots in the moon are discovered by means of the telescope to be mountains and seas.

292. The meaning is that the largest pine tree would be like a wand or small stick in comparison with Satan's spear. This meaning is expressed more forcibly by the employment of the figure of speech called *praeter expectatum* (disappointment of expectation). Until the very end of the sentence we expect to be told that to equal Satan's spear we must think of a tall Norwegian pine, and, just as we are managing with difficulty to imagine such an immense spear, the words 'were but a wand' are unexpectedly introduced to inform us that even this comparison is far below the mark.

294. **ammiral** or 'admiral' is derived from Ar. *amir* (commander), the last syllable being probably the Arabic article. The word formerly meant either the commander or the principal ship of a fleet. Milton here uses the word in the latter sense, which has become obsolete in modern English.

were but a wand, would appear to be no bigger than a wand.

296. **the burning marle** is the burnt soil of l. 562. 'Marle' properly means a rich chalky clay used to fertilize poor land, but is used here in a wider sense as a synonym for 'soil.'

297. **Heaven's azure,** the blue vault of Heaven.

299. **Nathless** (nevertheless) is a contraction from 'ne-the-less' (not by that less, not on that account less).

302. The comparison is a close one. The leaves resemble the fallen angels because they are (1) infinitely numerous, (2) have lost their former splendour, and (3) are floating helplessly on the surface of the water. Milton in this case skilfully borrows and improves upon an illustration that may be found in the poetry of several of his epic predecessors. Tasso in his *Jerusalem Delivered*, ix. 66, describing the return of the devils to Hell, says—

> 'Not leaves in woods, when Autumn's first night-frosts
> Nip their seared beauty, in such numbers e'er
> Heap the low valleys,'

following Virgil, who uses the same comparison to describe the number of ghosts (*Aeneid* vi. 310); but even in the *Aeneid* the simile cannot be said to be original, being traceable first to Apollonius Rhodius, and then ultimately, like many other good similes, to an Homeric origin.

303. **Vallombrosa** (shady valley) is the name of an Italian valley some eighteen miles from Florence, which Milton probably visited in the autumn of 1638. Brewer in his *Dictionary of Phrase and Fable* declares that the trees of Vallombrosa are not deciduous, that "they are pines, and therefore no thick autumnal leaves ever strow the brooks of that forest." But the evidence of those who have seen the valley show that this criticism is wrong.

Southey in his ballads quotes the description given by a traveller who visited this valley in autumn, after the leaves had begun to fall, and declared that the guide "was obliged to try what was land and what was water, by pushing a long pole before him, which he carried in his hand, the vale being so very irriguous and the leaves so totally covering the stream." Similar evidence is given by Dean Stanley, who describes how in September the leaves constantly falling from the vast chestnut forests of Vallombrosa and almost choking the currents of the numerous streams give the exact picture of the "autumnal leaves that strow the brooks."

304. **embower**, form bowers. The verb is generally used transitively, as by Shelley in his 'Ode to the Skylark':—

'Like a rose embower'd
In its own green leaves.'

Sedge. The fact that the Red Sea is called in the Hebrew Scriptures the sedgy sea doubtless suggested this comparison.

305. The rising of the constellation called Orion was supposed to bring stormy weather. Orion had been called armed by previous writers because the stars in the constellation suggested to the imagination of the ancients the figure of an armed man with sword and sword-belt. Milton also applies to him the epithet armed, but girds him with fierce winds instead of with starry sword and sword-belt.

306. **chivalry** generally means knighthood or the courtesy befitting a knight. Here the term is used in the sense generally denoted by cavalry, which is by derivation the same word as chivalry. The Memphian chivalry of Pharaoh was the army composed of his chariots and horsemen. Campbell in his poem on the battle of Hohenlinden uses the word in the same way—

'Wave, Munich, all thy banners wave
And charge with all thy chivalry.'

For the facts alluded to in the simile see xii. 205-214, and Exodus chapter xiv., where it is related how Pharaoh and his army were drowned in the Red Sea while pursuing the Israelites, for whom God made a dry path through the middle of the waters. As the name of this Pharaoh is unknown, Milton chooses to identify him, as Raleigh had done before, with Busiris, an Egyptian king notorious in Greek mythology for his custom of sacrificing strangers. Memphis was the capital of Egypt after the fall of Thebes.

308. The Egyptians were perfidious, because, after giving the Israelites permission to depart, they changed their minds and pursued them.

309. The Israelites are called here the sojourners of Goshen, because they had temporarily dwelt in that district of Egypt.

310. The poet while elaborating the details of the second simile really slides informally into a third comparison, which, from its position immediately before the words 'so thick bestrewn' dwells in our mind as much as the main simile to which it is nominally a mere appendage.

Safe shore, the shore on which they were safe. See note on ii. 561.

316. **Flower of Heaven,** noblest of the inhabitants of Heaven.

317. If ye are so utterly prostrate, it is evident that you have not sufficient energy to strike another blow for Heaven.

318. Notice the sarcastic irony of the two questions, by which Satan tries to rouse his followers out of their ignominious position of mental and bodily prostration.

320. **For,** causal, on account of, as in line 32.

324. The various orders of angels are not very clearly distinguished either in Christian tradition or *Paradise Lost.* Gregory the Great described the angelic host as divided into the nine orders of angels, archangels, virtues, powers, princedoms, dominations, thrones, cherubim, and seraphim. All these titles are found in *Paradise Lost,* and a comparison of the different passages in which they occur shows how far the poet used them in a definite sense. 'Angel' is used in its ordinary modern sense as a generic term including the members of all the other orders. The archangels, as their name implies, are the highest of all in dignity. Only Satan (l. 243), Michael, Raphael, and Uriel are expressly mentioned by Milton as being archangels, but he no doubt intends Gabriel to hold the same rank, although he never happens to call him an archangel. The cherubim and seraphim seem to be regarded as two mutually exclusive groups including all or most of the angels. Thus in the passage before us the whole army of fallen angels is described as consisting of seraphim and cherubim. Sometimes (i. 129, 665; ii. 750) large bodies of angels that must have included both seraphim and cherubim are included under one of the two terms, just as the soldiers of the British army are often without discrimination called Englishmen, though some of them are Scotchmen and Irishmen. When an individual angel is mentioned we are generally told whether he is a seraph or a cherub. Thus Beelzebub (i. 157), Azazel (i. 534), and Gabriel (iv. 971) are cherubim, while Uriel (iii. 667) and Raphael (v. 277) are seraphim. Satan appears from l. 539 to be a seraph, if the arms displayed on his imperial ensign were his own, not those of his conquered enemies. Milton does not seem ever to call one and the same angel a cherub and a seraph, so that these two classes of angels may be regarded as mutually ex-

clusive. The five remaining titles (thrones, dominations, virtues, princedoms, powers) are generally used in addresses to the angelic armies, and the poet does not tell us clearly their distinguishing characteristics. We find 'throned powers' (i. 128) and 'powers that erst sat on thrones' (i. 360), from which we may get an idea of the particular distinction enjoyed by those angels who were called thrones; but of the other four titles no definite information is given.

328. The idea seems to be that God will send down thunderbolts connected together by chains, and that the thunderbolts will act as nails to fasten the chains and the angels bound in the chains firmly to the bottom of the lake.

330. If ye do not now rise ye may expect never to rise. See l. 317.

332. **as when**, etc., like men found sleeping at their posts.

333. **by whom**, by those whom. The ellipse of the antecedent is very common in Milton.

335. **Nor did they not perceive**, nor did they fail to perceive, *i.e.*, they did perceive. The two negatives cancel each other and make an affirmative.

337. Milton here imitates the Latin use of the dative after verbs of obeying. In ordinary English 'obey' governs the accusative.

339. **Amram's son**, Moses. The plague of locusts was the fifth of the seven plagues by which Pharaoh and the Egyptians were afflicted until they consented to let the Israelites go. Moses 'stretched forth his rod over the land of Egypt' and a strong east wind brought up the locusts.

340. **a pitchy cloud**, cloud black as pitch. Compare the common phrase 'pitch darkness.'

341. The peculiarity of the movements of locusts in the air is that they do not move straight and swiftly to their destination, but go wherever and at whatever pace the wind blows them. Therefore Milton applies to them the word 'warping,' which expresses irregular, zigzag motion. This explanation corresponds with the nautical meaning of 'warp,' which is to tow a ship on by attaching ropes to anchors, buoys, or other ships, and by that means make slow laborious progress with many deviations from a straight line. A piece of wood is said to be warped when it is twisted and made crooked by heat or any other cause.

345. **cope** (connected with 'cap'), vault.

346. **'Twixt** (connected with 'two'), generally indicates position between *two* objects.

347. **Till, as a signal**, etc., till, when Satan's uplifted spear, given as a signal, waved to direct their course.

348. Notice the terms used to express Satan's sovereignty. He is here called sultan, and in line 378 and ii. 510 emperor. 'Sultan' not only implies grandeur and absolute power, but also, as being the usual title of Mahometan rulers, opposition to the true faith. The term 'emperor' is intended to call up memories of the immense sway of the great pagan emperors of Rome.

349. **in even balance**, with evenly poised wings. The meaning is that they flew with their wings beating the air in perfect harmony and so alighted gracefully on the shore of the lake.

350. **brimstone** (by derivation burning stone) is sulphur, which the soil of hell is popularly supposed to contain in great abundance. See ll. 69, 674.

351. If the meaning were expressed in full, we should have 'a multitude, like which (multitude) the North never poured a multitude'; but, as the repetition would be clumsy, the word 'multitude' does double duty, not only acting as nominative in apposition to 'they' (l. 349), and as antecedent to 'which,' but also serving as object of 'poured.'

353. **Rhene or the Danaw**, the Rhine or the Danube.

354. **like a deluge.** Milton is referring to the Vandals who crossed the Straits of Gibraltar, and by the capture of Carthage in 429 established themselves firmly in Africa. 'One long wave of the great German deluge,' writes De Quincey in his monograph on the Caesars when describing the same events and perhaps consciously imitating Milton's lines, 'had stretched beyond the Pyrenees and the pillars of Hercules to the very homesteads of ancient Carthage.' Both writers compare the barbarians who overthrew the Roman Empire to an immense flood that could not be kept within the bounds of Europe, but escaping by the outlet afforded by the Straits of Gibraltar covered a great part of Africa. The peculiarity of the comparison is that it makes us think of a flood walled in by water. The metaphorical flood consisting of barbarians is represented as confined by a barrier of real water, and as bursting that watery boundary at the Straits of Gibraltar, where the surrounding sea was thinnest and therefore offered least resistance to their advance.

Compare with this passage the fine lines in *Paradise Lost* (iv. 270-271), which describe in metaphorical language how the effects of Athenian eloquence could not be confined within the limits of Greece, but extended to the capitals of Macedon and Persia.

355. **Beneath Gibraltar**, to the south of Gibraltar.

360. **erst** (connected with 'early') superlative of 'ere.'

'Powers that erst in heaven sat on thrones' are expressed by the single word 'Thrones' in ii. 310, 430.

363. **the Books of Life** mentioned in the Bible (Rev. iii. 5) contain the names of those who are worthy of God's favour. Milton uses the plural to indicate the immense number of the angels.

364. **sons of Eve**, mankind.

365. **new names**, the names given to the fallen angels by their worshippers in Canaan, Egypt, Greece, and elsewhere. Milton distinguishes them by the names under which they were worshipped in Canaan, such as Beelzebub, Moloch, Baalim, Ashtaroth, etc.

366. **high.** See note on l. 212.

for the trial of man, in order that men might be tried. By the temptations of devils human virtue is put to the proof. If there were no temptations to be resisted, there would be no means by which the good could be distinguished from the bad.

370. **Glory** is object of 'transform.'

370-373. Two kinds of idolatry are here distinguished. Sometimes the Israelites made idols representing Jehovah which they worshipped as the direct objects of their adoration. See Psalm cvi. 19, 20, 'They made a calf in Horeb, and worshipped the molten image. Thus they changed their glory into the similitude of an ox that eateth grass.' See also l. 486 of this book. Sometimes they went still farther away from Jehovah and worshipped the devils adored as gods by the surrounding nations. Both these forms of idolatry were alike forbidden by the second commandment, which says, 'Thou shalt not make unto thyself any graven image, or any likeness of anything that is in heaven above, or that is in the earth beneath, or that is in the water under the earth. Thou shalt not bow down thyself to them nor serve them' (Exod. xx. 4).

372. **religions**, religious ceremonies. Milton means that gay religious rites were celebrated, in which the images were ornamented with gorgeous trappings. We should expect 'with' coming after 'adorned' to govern a noun meaning 'ornaments.' Possibly Milton dictated 'adored.'

376. **Say, Muse**, etc., tell us their names, which at that later period (see l. 374) became familiar, and say who came first, who came last. 'Say' governs two objects, the noun 'names,' and the noun sentence consisting of the indirect question 'who came first, who came last.' In this construction the noun object and the subject of the objective noun sentence usually mean the same thing or person, as in ii. 990. In the passage before us this is not quite the case. The noun object of 'say' is the names of the

devils, and 'who' the subject of the noun sentence refers to the devils who afterwards bore these names.

It is possible that 'who' may be a relative, in which case the passage must be taken 'say the names of them who first, etc.' Compare l. 161.

377. **Roused**, passive participle.

379. **bare**, destitute of trees and plants, which could not grow on the strand of solid fire.

385. **durst abide Jehovah**, ventured to hold their ground in the presence of Jehovah.

387. The two cherubim here referred to were two winged angelic figures in the innermost sanctuary of the temple on Mount Sion. Their wings formed a kind of throne, from which Jehovah uttered his oracles to the chief priests in a voice like thunder.

391. **affront** (from Lat. *frons*, a forehead) here seems to combine the original meaning 'to stand opposite' with the later meaning 'to insult openly.' The fact that the shrines of these devils stood opposite to the shrine of God was an open insult to God.

392. **Moloch**, the fire god of Ammon, was worshipped with inhuman rites. According to Jewish tradition infants were placed into the hands of his graven image, the 'grim idol' of l. 396, from which they rolled into a furnace. Moloch is connected with the Hebrew *melec* (a king), on which account Milton calls him 'horrid king.'

From 'besmeared' we must understand 'bedewed' or some other participle to go with 'parents' tears,' which cannot well be said to besmear any one. This is an instance of the figure of speech called zeugma. Cf. Pope's line—

'See Pan with flocks, with fruits Pomona crown'd,'

where, as Canon Farrar remarks in his *Greek Syntax*, we must understand 'surrounded' to agree with Pan, who could hardly be represented as crowned with flocks. For other instances of zeugma see l. 441 and ii. 245.

394. **for** commonly, as here, introduces a preventive cause. The noise of the drums and cymbals prevented the cries of the children from being heard.

395. **Though...Their children's cries** (were) **unheard**. The substantive verb is omitted as in l. 141.

397. **Her.** As the names of cities are feminine in Latin, Rabba, the name of the capital of Ammon, is here treated as a feminine noun. See l. 723. Rabba is called the city of waters in 2 Sam. xii. 27.

400. **the wisest heart of Solomon**, the heart of Solomon, the

wisest of all hearts. As Solomon was the wisest of men, his heart was the wisest of all hearts.

402. **right against**, exactly opposite.

403. **opprobrious hill**, infamous hill. The southern part of the Mount of Olives is blasted with infamy, and called the 'hill of scandal' (l. 416), the 'offensive mountain' (l. 443), and in the Bible the 'mount of corruption' (2 Kings xxiii. 13), because it was disgraced by the shrines of false gods. For the same reason the beautiful valley of Hinnom, after it had been converted into a sacred grove for Moloch, became hateful to the Jews, who made it a receptacle for all the filth of the city. It then came to be known as Tophet (from Hebrew *toph*, a drum), because drums were used at the sacrifice to Moloch to drown the children's cries, (l. 394) or Gehenna. The word Gehenna is really derived from Hinnom, but obtained a bad meaning, when the valley was defiled and became a type of hell. The Hindustani *Jahannam* (hell) is derived from Gehenna.

406. **dread of Moab's sons**, the god worshipped in fear and trembling by the Moabites. 'Dread' is an instance of an abstract used for a concrete term. The name of an emotion is here applied to the person who causes the emotion. In like manner a person or thing which excites hope is called a hope, as, for instance, in Shakespeare, Richard III. is said to have been 'less than a mother's hope,' *i.e.*, an object not answering to a mother's expectations. So also 'joy' often means 'source of joy,' as in Keats' well-known line

'A thing of beauty is a joy for ever.'

411. **the Asphaltic Pool**, the Dead Sea, called by Josephus and others the Asphaltic Lake, on account of the large quantity of asphalt it contains in a liquid state on its surface.

412. See Numbers xxv.

417. The close neighbourhood of cruel Moloch and lustful Chemos is regarded by Milton as a type of the close connection between lust and hate. In ix. 1123 Milton describes lust as soon succeeded by 'high passions, anger, hate, mistrust, suspicion, discord.'

lust hard by hate, equivalent to 'a close juxtaposition of lust and hate,' is in loose apposition to the idea of the preceding lines.

418. **Josiah** was the last good king of Judah. It was he who defiled the valley of Hinnom and destroyed the heathen shrines that had been erected there by Solomon.

419. **bordering**, because it is mentioned in the Bible, Gen. xv. 18, as one of the boundaries of the Promised Land.

420. **Euphrates** is called old because it is mentioned in the oldest records of the human race.

422. **Baalim.** The Hebrew word 'baal' means lord. It is found in composition in the name Beelzebub (Baal-zebub), l. 81, which means the lord of flies. The Phoenician sun-god is called Baal in the Bible. Here Baalim, the Hebrew plural of Baal (see l. 129), is applied as a general term to all the devils worshipped as male gods by the Canaanites living along the sea coast of Palestine. In like manner Ashtaroth, the plural of Astoreth (l. 438), here means the devils worshipped as female deities.

those—these, the former, the latter.

430. **their aery purposes**, their journeys through the air to carry out their purposes. For the distinction between 'aery' and 'ethereal' see i. 45.

433. **Their Living Strength**, the living God who was the source of their strength. The abstract 'strength' is used for the concrete, like 'dread' in l. 406. Jehovah is called in the Bible the Living God, to contrast him with the unreal imaginary deities worshipped by the heathen. The epithet however does not serve to point the contrast intended by the poet in this passage, for Milton is representing the gods of the heathen as living beings, though not gods out devils.

435. **bestial gods**, gods in the form of beasts, such as the Egyptian gods, referred to in ll. 478-481.

for which, as a punishment for which offence.

438. **Astoreth**, or Astarte, the goddess of the moon, is represented in Phoenician mythology as the wife of the sun-god, Baal.

440. **by the moon**, by the light of the moon. 'By' in such phrases gives an accompaniment contributing to a result. 'He read by lamplight' means that the lamplight enabled him to read. Thus to say that the Sidonian virgins paid their vows by the moon implies that the presence of the moon gave them assistance when they paid their vows. This it did in two ways, first by enabling them to go out at night, and secondly by the fact that the moon itself, regarded as the 'bright image' of Astarte, gave them a visible object of adoration.

441. **paid their vows and** (sung) **songs**. For another instance of zeugma see l. 393.

443. **offensive mountain**. See l. 403.

444. 'Uxoriousness' means excessive fondness for wives and submission to their whims. Solomon was pre-eminently uxorious, inasmuch as he had seven hundred wives and allowed them to seduce him from his allegiance to Jehovah. They were the 'fair idolatresses' mentioned in the next line, for whom he built heathen temples in Jerusalem.

large, wise. The adjective is particularly expressive of the wisdom of Solomon, owing to the great extent of his knowledge.

We are told in the Bible (1 Kings iv. 29-34) that 'God gave Solomon wisdom and understanding exceeding much and largeness of heart, even as the sand that is on the sea shore. . . . He was wiser than all men. . . . He spake three thousand proverbs, and his songs were a thousand and five, and he spake of trees from the cedar tree that is in Lebanon even unto the hyssop that springeth out of the wall : he spake also of beasts, and of fowl, and of creeping things, and of fishes.'

446. **Thammuz** was a Syrian god who, having been slain by a wild boar in Lebanon, a mountain range between Syria and Palestine, was supposed to die and revive every year. When the Syrian river Adonis became red, as it did at a certain season of the year, it was supposed to be discoloured by the blood of Thammuz, whose death was accordingly lamented at that season. Thammuz was identified with the Greek Adonis, the favourite of Aphrodite, who bore the same name as the Syrian river mentioned in l. 450.

451. **supposed with blood**, supposed (to be purple) with blood, *i.e.*, purple with blood, as was supposed. Here, as in ii. 830, 1048, according to Latin usage, by means of a passive participle the introduction of a dependent sentence with a new subject or of a parenthesis is avoided.

455. The prophet Ezekiel saw in a vision Jewish women weeping for Thammuz in the sacred precincts of the temple.

456. **dark**, horrible and wicked. The word has the same meaning in l. 213.

460. **the grunsel**, or groundsill, is the threshold, that is, the plank or stone at the bottom of the door. When the Ark of God was taken by the Philistines to Ashdod (Azotus) the image of the fish god Dagon was found one morning lying on the threshold of his temple with the head and the hands cut off (Sam. iv. 4). Thus Dagon mourned in earnest, *i.e.*, had good reason to mourn, as opposed to the worshippers of Thammuz who lamented an imaginary woe.

461. **shamed his worshippers.** His worshippers were ashamed of the ignominious overthrow of their god.

469. **Abbana and Pharphar.** The Syrians were very proud of these two rivers. When Naaman, the Syrian leper, was told by the prophet Elisha to bathe in the river Jordan, if he wished to be cured of his leprosy, he indignantly exclaimed, 'Are not Abbana and Pharphar, rivers of Damascus, better than all the waters of Israel? May I not wash in them and be clean?' This Naaman is the leper referred to in l. 471. Rimmon is there said to have *lost* him because in gratitude for his cure he declared that he would 'henceforth offer neither burnt offering nor sacrifice unto other gods, but unto the Lord,' *i.e.*, Jehovah.

472. **Ahaz** did not conquer the Syrians himself, but persuaded the Assyrians to do so. When Damascus had been taken by his Assyrian allies, Ahaz went to that city to meet the Assyrian king, and seeing there an altar that pleased him sent a pattern of it to Jerusalem, that a similar altar might be erected in his own capital.

479. **monstrous shapes**, brutish forms of bulls, cats, and dogs, under which the Egyptians worshipped their gods. The strange forms attributed to the Egyptian gods were said to be due to the story indistinctly alluded to in l. 481, that the gods, to escape from their enemies the giants, were forced to wander about disguised as animals.

abused...to seek, deluded them so that they sought.

483. The Israelites borrowed from the Egyptians at the time of their departure many jewels of gold which they never returned.

484. **in Oreb.** The preposition 'in' shows that the valley, not the mountain, is meant. See note on l. 7.

485. Jeroboam, who rebelled against the son of Solomon and made himself king over the greater part of Palestine, made *two* golden calves, and so doubled the sin of the Israelites in Oreb, for they had only made *one* calf.

486. **grazed ox**, ox fed upon grass. The verb 'graze' is sometimes used transitively governing as an object either the food eaten or the animal that is fed.

487. **Jehovah** is in apposition to 'Maker' in the previous line.

489. The last and worst of the plagues which afflicted Egypt was the destruction of the first-born, immediately after which the Israelites left the country. 'At midnight the Lord smote all the first-born in the land of Egypt, from the first-born of Pharaoh that sat on the throne unto the first-born of the captive that was in the dungeon; and all the first-born of cattle.' From this verse we must suppose line 489 to mean that God involved the Egyptians and the animals they worshipped as gods in the same destruction when He slew the first-born both of Egyptian men and of Egyptian animals. We should expect 'lowing gods' rather than 'bleating gods.' For, though the Egyptians worshipped several animals, including Ammon and Mendes, who were represented under the forms of a ram and a goat, the chief object of their worship was the bull Apis, in imitation of which the Israelites made the calf in Oreb (l. 484). Newton suggests that Milton may perhaps have used the epithet 'bleating' in order to suggest contempt, as sheep and goats are small and insignificant animals. (Cf. ii. 494 for another possible explanation.) It must also be noticed that, unless we read 'gods'' the

genitive instead of 'gods,' there is a confusion in the comparison, as the first-born of the Egyptians are compared by the words of the sentence not to the first-born of the bestial gods, but to the bestial gods generally. This confusion may however be paralleled by many similar instances of elliptical comparison: *e.g.*, Byron's 'There be none of beauty's daughters with a magic like thee,' *i.e.*, like thy magic. There is in the use of the word 'both' a third difficulty. 'Both' preceding 'and,' would naturally call emphatic attention to the fact that there are two objects to the verb 'equalled,' that the 'bleating gods' were as much subject to the action of the verb as the first-born of Egypt. But this is of course unnecessary. It is obvious that equality requires two things to be compared, and that, if the first-born of Egypt were reduced to the same condition as the bleating gods, the bleating gods must necessarily have been reduced to the same condition as the first-born of Egypt. If a dog is like a wolf, a wolf must be like a dog. The reason why the verb 'equal' is followed here by two objects joined by 'both' and 'and' will be found in the general sense of the passage. 'Equall'd' means 'equall'd in destruction,' and so suggests the verb 'destroyed.' The line is really elliptical for 'equalled the first-born of Egypt and her bleating gods by destroying both the first-born of Egypt and her bleating gods.'

490. Belial's late arrival is consistent with ii. 117, where he is called 'timorous and slothful.' At the same time the description of such an important character as Belial makes an impressive termination to the long catalogue.

than whom. 'Than' is neither by derivation nor by ordinary usage a preposition. Sometimes however, as here and in ii. 299, it governs an objective case. These exceptional instances may be, according to the reader's taste, regarded either as grammatical slips or as instances of 'than' used as a preposition. 'Than' is by derivation the same word as 'then.' 'Thus he is older than I' is equivalent to 'he is older, then I,' *i.e.*, 'he is older, I come after in point of age.'

492. **Vice for itself,** vice for its own sake. Those who love vice for itself do vicious acts, from which neither pleasure nor profit is derived.

To him, in his honour.

493. **yet who more oft than he,** yet no devil is more often present than he is present. Here 'than' is used regularly as a conjunction (see l. 490).

495. **Eli's sons.** See Judges, chap. ii.

497. Milton had a Puritanical hatred of courts and palaces, as being the headquarters of the enemies of his political party. The courtiers of Charles I. were hateful to him as supporters of epis-

copacy and absolute monarchy, while in his old age he was disgusted with the licentious effrontery practised in the court of Charles II. He alludes to the luxury and vice of courts again in iv. 767, v. 354, vii. 33. In the following line he gives us further information about his personal likings and aversions, showing clearly that, like most poets, he preferred the country to great cities. Another passage in which he indicates this preference more clearly will be found in ix. 445-451.

501. **the sons of Belial,** licentious men who are followers of Belial.

502. **flown,** filled to overflowing. 'Flow' is sometimes used transitively in the sense of 'overflow,' 'inundate.' For an instance of one and the same preposition governing two nouns, one meaning a feeling of the mind, and the other a material substance, cf. Dryden's *Ode on St. Cecilia's Day*, in which Alexander is described as being

'With love and wine at once opprest.'

See also ii. 61 and Virgil, *Aeneid* i. 654.

503. **Witness the streets,** let the streets of Sodom attest the fact. See Genesis xix.

504. **Gibeah.** See Judges xix.

hospitable door, hospitable house, hospitable inmates of the house. Door in this context can easily stand for house, as a house is hospitable when its door is readily opened to entertain strangers.

507. **The rest were long to tell,** to tell the rest would be long, *i.e.*, would take a long time. The redundant pronoun 'it,' regularly inserted when an infinite used as subject follows a verb, is here omitted. We should expect, 'The rest it were long to tell.'

though far renown'd. Although they are renowned, and might therefore be supposed to be worthy of description, Milton does not think fit to devote to them the large space in his poem that would be required to describe them adequately. They owe their renown to the greatness of the Greek poets who celebrated them.

508. **Javan,** the fourth son of Noah's youngest son Japhet, was supposed to be the ancestor of the Greeks. 'Javan' is probably a corruption of 'Ionia,' the commercial Greeks of which region must have been known to the Jews through the Phoenicians. The similar word 'Yavanas,' which in the *Mahabharat* seems to mean Greeks, is probably the corresponding Indian corruption of the same word.

of Javan's issue held Gods, supposed to be gods by Javan's issue, the Greeks. For 'of' used instead of 'by' with passive

verbs to express the person or thing from which the action proceeds, see l. 30, ii. 398, and Abbott's *Shakespearian Grammar*, § 170.

510. According to the legend followed by Milton, though Titan was the eldest son, his younger brother obtained the sovereignty and held it until he 'found like measure from Jove,' *i.e.*, was deprived of his power by Jove, just as he had before deprived his elder brother of power. The legends about the wars for the sovereignty of heaven are very confused and contradictory. Generally all Saturn's elder brothers are called by the common name of Titans. See l. 198.

515. **Ida** is a mountain of Crete, sacred to Jupiter. **Olympus** is a mountain of Thessaly on which the Greek gods were supposed to live.

516. **the middle air**, the ordinary atmosphere of the earth, as opposed to the aether or empyrean. It is called the middle air because it is midway between earth and the true heaven.

517. **Delphi**, sacred to Apollo, and **Dodona**, sacred to Jupiter, were the two most celebrated oracles of ancient Greece.

520. **Saturn**, after his overthrow by Jupiter, fled to Italy (the Hesperian fields), where he reigned, and established the golden age.

521. In this line Milton speaks as if some devils, in alliance with Saturn, wandered after their defeat by Jupiter over Gaul (the Celtic Land) to the utmost isles (Great Britain and Ireland), and there established idolatrous religions. In classic legends we do not read of any other fugitives from Jupiter's power, except Saturn.

the Celtic, the Celtic land. The adjective is used alone, as the noun with which it agrees is easily understood (see l. 71). This is one of Milton's many imitations of Latin and Greek idioms.

roamed the Isles, reached the isles in the course of their wanderings. 'Roam' is an intransitive verb; but, as the active verb 'reach' is suggested by the context, Milton makes 'isles' an object, just as if the transitive verb 'reached' had been actually used. For similar omissions of prepositions after intransitive verbs, see ll. 202, 774.

523. **damp**, depressed, spiritless. The adjective 'damp' has lost this meaning, which still however clings to the verb in the phrases 'to damp spirits,' 'to damp ardour or zeal.' The fact that a person who habitually depresses the spirits of others is colloquially called a wet blanket illustrates the fact that there is some connection between the ideas of dampness and depression.

such wherein, such that in them. In Elizabethan English 'such' is commonly fellowed by 'which,' and adverbs etymologi-

cally connected with 'which.' See Abbott's *Shakespearian Grammar*, § 279. In modern English 'such' is followed by 'as' or by 'that,' and a personal pronoun.

525. **not lost in loss itself**, an instance of oxymoron. See p. 63.

527. **Like doubtful hue**, a similar expression of countenance, denoting the combination of much depression with little joy.

But he. The contrast expressed by the word 'but' consists in the fact that he did not, like them, allow himself to be overpowered by depression of spirits, but immediately began to speak words of encouragement.

528. **recollecting**, regaining, literally collecting again.

529. **gently**, without uttering harsh reproaches. Keightley understands 'gently' here to mean 'gallantly,' and supports his interpretation by reference to l. 528, where Satan is said to have employed 'high words.' But the ordinary meaning of the word suits the context and the character of Satan, who is represented in ll. 605, 620 as being not devoid of human or rather angelic sympathy. See Introduction, p. xxix.

532. Perhaps Milton, when he wrote this line, was thinking of the raising of the king's standard at Nottingham in 1642, which marked the commencement of the great civil war in England.

533. **That proud honour**, the honour of raising the standard.

534. **Azazel** means brave in retreat, and is therefore, as Newton remarks, an appropriate name for a standard-bearer.

536. **advanced**, raised, not moved forward. 'Advance' has this meaning distinctly in Shakespeare, who speaks of people 'advancing their eyelids.' Also Richard III. says, 'Advance thy halberd higher than my breast' (*Richard III.*, i. 2).

537. Gray imitates this line when he describes his bard's beard, which

'Stream'd like a meteor on the troubled air.'

539. **arms**, armorial bearings, not actual weapons. Among the most familiar instances of armorial bearings are the leopards of England, the lion of Scotland, and the harp of Ireland, which are all depicted on the escutcheons of the Kings and Queens of England.

trophies are symbols of victory consisting of spoils taken from conquered foes, and representations of those spoils, such as the Prince of Wales' feathers, a trophy won at Cressy. These words seem to imply that there were wars in heaven before Satan's rebellion, although neither in Milton nor in the Bible is there any mention of conflicts antecedent to that event.

540. **metal**, metal trumpets.

543. **Frighted.** This is an instance of what Ruskin in his *Modern Painters* calls the pathetic fallacy. Human feelings are attributed to the reign (kingdom) of Chaos and Night, which is described in ii. 890-967. Night is called old, because darkness existed from eternity before the creation of the world. For other instances of the pathetic fallacy see ix. 782, 1002; ii. 788.

546. **orient colours.** 'Orient' (Lat. *orior*, I rise) originally meant 'rising,' then, as the East is the land of the rising sun, it meant 'eastern'; finally, as bright colours, natural and artificial, are far more common in the East than in the West, the word came to mean 'bright.' In this passage it probably has the third meaning, although the frequent comparisons between Satan's grandeur and the state of an oriental monarch (ll. 348, 717-722; ii. 2, 3; x. 445, 457) make the second meaning not impossible. For a passage in which 'orient' undoubtedly means 'bright' see xi. 205.

547. Cf. l. 563 and

> 'The stubborn spearmen still made good
> Their dark impenetrable wood.'
>
> Scott, *Marmion* 6, xxxiv. 13.

548. **serried shields**, shields close packed. The verb 'serry' is obsolete, except in the passive participle.

549. **anon**, immediately after. 'Anon' is by derivation 'an one (moment),' 'an' being a form of the preposition 'on,' which, as Skeat remarks, was often used in Anglo-Saxon with the sense of 'in.'

550. A phalanx is a body of heavily armed spearmen arranged in one compact mass. The Macedonian phalanx was the most celebrated type of this arrangement.

to, in accordance with, measuring their steps and regulating their movements by. This use of 'to,' followed by a word meaning the music, by which movements of soldiers or dancers or the voices of singers are timed, is common. Thus we may say, 'She danced to the harp,' or 'She sang to the harp.'

The Dorian mood was the severest style of music among the Greeks. Milton, in describing its effects, probably had in his mind the passage in Plato's *Republic*, where Socrates requires a warlike harmony such as will 'sound the word or note which a brave man utters in the hour of danger and stern resolve, or when his cause is failing, and he is going to wounds or death, or is overtaken by some evil, and at every such crisis meets fortune with calmness and endurance,' and the Dorian mood is found to answer his purpose. Thucydides, v. 70, describes the Dorian Lacedæmonians advancing to battle 'slowly to the music of many flute-players,' while their enemies came to meet them 'violently with rage.'

551. **recorders** were a kind of wind instrument.

552. **To highth**, to the highest pitch.

heroes old, ancient heroes. Milton, as Professor Masson remarks, is very fond of using this adjective after the noun it qualifies, generally at the end of a line. For other instances see ll. 519, 565; ii. 593, 988.

554. **unmoved**, etc., which could not be moved to flight by fear of death.

556. See note on ii. 355.

560. **Breathing united force.** This Homeric phrase represents the fallen angels as manifesting their valour by their manner of breathing. See *Iliad* ii. 536.

561. **to.** See l. 550.

charmed Their painful steps, made them less sensitive to the pain caused by the soil burning their feet. Their souls were so exalted by the music that they almost forgot their physical pain.

563. **a horrid front.** The front of the angelic phalanx was not only horrid in the ordinary sense of the word, but also in the literal sense of the Lat. *horridus* (bristling). Besides being a dreadful spectacle, it literally bristled with spears projecting above the angels' heads. Cf. vi. 82, where the region occupied by Satan's army is described as 'bristling with upright beams innumerable of rigid spears,' and the comparison to a forest in l. 547 of this book.

565. **warriors old**, ancient as opposed to modern warriors. Milton finds it more suitable for artistic purposes to arm his angels with spear and shield rather than with musket and pike. Like Virgil, he imitates the arms and mode of warfare described in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, although he sometimes adds details taken from chivalry (see l. 539, ii. 513), and in the sixth book makes the rebel angels discover and use gunpowder.

with ordered spear. 'Order arms' is still a word of command used in drilling soldiers. Modern soldiers order arms by resting the butt-ends of their muskets on the ground. When this was done with long spears, they would rise above the heads of the soldiers and so produce the 'horrid front' described by Milton. The poet, who no doubt became tolerably familar with military matters in the long civil war, uses a similar technical phrase, 'ported spears,' in iv. 980. Johnson is thinking of such passages as these when he mentions among Milton's faults that are 'easily remarked and generally censured' his 'unnecessary and ungraceful use of terms of art.' See ii. 1019.

567. Files are rows of soldiers arranged one behind the other, as opposed to ranks or rows of soldiers standing side by side.

572. **hardening**, becoming more obstinate and unyielding. He had shown some signs of depression in l. 527. 'Hardening' agrees with 'heart.' 'His' is used where a modern writer would use 'its' (see l. 176). It is impossible to say whether Milton intended that 'in his strength' should be taken with 'hardening' or with 'glories.' On the one hand, in Daniel v. 20 we find 'his mind hardened in pride'; but on the other, 'glories in his strength' reads like a literal translation of a common Homeric phrase, σθένεϊ βλεμεαίνειν, *Il.* viii. 337. Perhaps the words 'in his strength' do double duty, like 'multitude' in l. 351, and go both with 'hardening' and 'glories.'

573. **since created Man**, since the creation of man. Although 'since' grammatically governs 'man,' it is a preposition of time, and must really in sense govern some past event which is contained in the participle. This treatment of a participle and noun, as if they were one noun meaning an event or action implied in the participle, is a Latin idiom often used by Milton (see l. 636, ii. 21). The same construction is very common in Marathi, in which language, for instance, '*fauj gelyawar*' means 'after the departure of the army,' '*gelyawar*' being the past participle '*geli*' (gone), followed by the postposition '*war*' (after). See Navalkar's Marathi Grammar, § 197.

574. **embodied force**, collected army. To embody forces is a military phrase meaning to collect troops together. In this comparison it is probable that Milton merely means to say that the mightiest army that ever met since the creation of man would look like an army of pygmies beside the army of fallen angels, that is, would be as inferior to the angelic army as an army of pygmies is inferior to an ordinary army. Perhaps however he intends to give a far more grand conception of the power of Satan's army. He may possibly mean to say that if the mightiest army that ever met and the pygmean infantry were simultaneously compared with Satan's army they would both appear equally insignificant in comparison, just as the numbers 100 and 1, though very different in value, are equally incomparable with infinity. If we take the passage in the latter way, which is rather supported by the account given of the angels' might in vi. 222, and by the words 'Thus far these beyond compare of mortal prowess' (l. 587), we must understand as predicate to 'that small infantry' the words 'could merit named with these': if we prefer the former interpretation we only understand 'could merit,' which would be equivalent to 'could merit when compared with an ordinary army of full-sized men.' In favour of the more moderate interpretation of the comparison, l. 788, which merely makes the devils bigger than giants, may be quoted. Whatever be the comparison made at the beginning, it is intensified in the following lines, which introduce, as either much or infinitely in-

ferior to Satan's army, not one particular celebrated army, but the whole collection of the most celebrated armies that the poet can think of. At l. 575 we must understand a new principal sentence, 'nor would such embodied force, as named with these could merit more than that small infantry warred on by cranes, meet.' The combination of great armies in ll. 575-587 is a purely imaginary combination of armies that belonged to very different periods of history or mythology, and therefore cannot be supposed to have ever actually assembled together. For a similar intensification of a comparison see l. 294.

This whole passage is a fine instance of Milton's skilful use of proper names. 'Scarcely any passages in the poems of Milton, Macaulay justly remarks, 'are more generally known or more frequently repeated than those which are little more than mere muster-rolls of names. They are not always more appropriate or more melodious than other names; but they are charmed names. Every one of them is the first link in a long chain of associated ideas. Like the dwelling-place of our infancy revisited in manhood, like the song of our country heard in a strange land, they produce upon us an effect wholly independent of their intrinsic value. One transports us back to a remote period of history, another places us among the novel scenes and manners of a distant region, a third evokes all the dear classical recollections of childhood, the schoolroom, the dog-eared Virgil, the holiday, and the prize; a fourth brings before us the splendid phantoms of chivalrous romance, the trophied lists, the embroidered housings, the quaint devices, the haunted forests, the enchanted gardens, the achievements of enamoured knights, and the smiles of rescued princesses.' The variety of allusions to literature, history, and mythology in a passage like the present well bears out Macaulay's criticism. For other muster-rolls of names see l. 717; iii. 35-36; iv. 268; xi. 388-411.

575. **Could merit more**, could justly win more admiration.

that small infantry Warred on by cranes, the pygmies who are said by Homer to have been attacked by cranes every Spring. They are referred to again in l. 780.

576. **the giant brood**, the giants who warred on Jove (see l. 198). They are called the giant brood of Phlegra, because their battle with the gods was, according to Pindar, fought on the Phlegraean plains.

the heroic race. The Greek heroes were the warriors of the prehistorical age of Greece, which is generally called the heroic age. Among the most celebrated wars of the heroic age were those waged against Thebes and Ilium. The chief heroes who fought in these wars were the sons or grandsons of the gods.

579. **auxiliar gods**. In the Trojan war the gods themselves

took part in the battles, assisting their favourites and sometimes actually fighting.

580. The exploits of King Arthur, Uther's son, are related in Geoffrey of Monmouth's History of England, elsewhere called by Milton a 'fabulous book,' and in such romances as the *Morte d'Arthur* of Sir Thomas Malory, the episodes in which have been reproduced by Tennyson in his *Idylls of the King*. Milton himself once thought of making King Arthur the hero of his epic poem.

579. **and what resounds**, etc., and the renowned armies of British and Armoric knights commanded by King Arthur (Uther's son).

581. **Armoric**, Breton, belonging to the French province called Brittany. The name of the province was supposed to point to the fact that it was inhabited by Britons, and therefore some of Arthur's knights are represented as belonging to Brittany.

582. **baptized**, Christian, as baptism is the symbol of admission into the Christian Church.

584. **Aspramont**, a city in the Netherlands, is mentioned in *Orlando Furioso*. **Montalban**, a town in the south of France, and the three oriental cities mentioned in the following line may naturally be represented as having been the scenes of such tournaments between Christian and Mahometan warriors as are alluded to in ll. 763-766. Milton seems to have selected the names merely for the sake of their sound. Any other cities mentioned in the old romances that describe the wars between Christians and Mahometans would suit the context equally well.

585. **Biserta**, an African town near Tunis.

586. Scott, who like Milton delighted in sonorous lists of proper names, gives an echo of this passage in *Marmion*—

> 'Oh! for a blast of that dread horn,
> On Fontarabian echoes borne,
> Which to King Charles did come,
> When Roland brave and Olivier
> And every paladin and peer
> On Roncesvalles died.'

According to the ordinary tradition, which Scott follows, the rearguard of Charlemagne's army was destroyed in Roncesvalles because Roland would not blow his horn and call the king to his assistance, but the main body commanded by Charlemagne in person escaped. Milton follows the Spanish account, according to which Charlemagne and all his army were destroyed at Fontarabbia.

586. **all his peerage**, Roland, Oliver, and the rest of the ten peers or paladins of Charlemagne.

587. **beyond Compare of mortal prowess,** too great to be compared with mortal prowess. 'Compare' is a verb used as a noun.

588. **yet,** although they were so powerful.

592. **her.** 'Form' is treated as a feminine noun because the Latin *forma* is feminine. See ll. 176 and 723.

593. **the excess Of glory obscured.** His form looked like something which had been excessively glorious, but was now somewhat diminished in splendour. The abstract is here used for the concrete, as in l. 406. Compare the similar description of Satan in iv. 870.

595. **horizontal misty air,** misty air at the horizon.

596. **Shorn of his beams.** Seen through a thick mist in the morning the sun's brightness is visible, but no rays of dazzling light radiate from the disc as at mid-day.

597. **disastrous,** because eclipses portended calamities. Tomkyns the chaplain, who read *Paradise Lost* for the Archbishop of Canterbury, the licenser of religious publications, was at first inclined to object to the words 'with fear of change perplexes monarchs.' See Pattison's *Milton*, p. 169

601. **scars of thunder,** scars inflicted by the thunder (see l. 93). At the end of the sixth book it is related how the Messiah overwhelmed the rebel angels with His Father's thunder

To intrench, which usually means to defend by cutting trenches (see l. 676), here means to mark with hollows.

603. **considerate pride,** not the silly vanity of an empty-headed fool, but pride based upon the sober reflection of a powerful intellect.

604. **Cruel** (was) his eye.

605. **remorse and passion,** passionate remorse.

606. **fellows...followers.** Compare l. 642.

followers rather. As the word 'fellows' implies equality 'followers' is a more suitable term to express the relation between the rebel angels and Satan. The word 'followers' also better suggests the thoughts that made Satan remorseful. He had led the others into mischief and so was responsible for their misery.

611. **yet faithful how they stood,** how nevertheless they stood faithful. This noun sentence is object of 'behold' (l. 605), which has also as object the noun 'followers' (l. 606). See l. 376; ii. 990 for other instances of verbs governing first a noun and then a noun sentence.

614. **With singed top.** Mark Pattison mentions this line as one of Milton's inaccuracies in the description of nature, remarking

that 'lightning does not singe the top of trees, but either shivers them or cuts a groove down the stem to the ground.'

615. **the blasted heath** is from Shakespeare. Macbeth is described as meeting the witches on a blasted heath. Notice the closeness of the simile. The angels like the trees had suffered from 'scars of thunder' (l. 601), and the 'burning marle' of Hell resembled the blasted heath of the simile.

616. **they bend From wing to wing**, in order that those stationed in the wings may be as near the speaker as those in the centre. They formed a semicircle round Satan.

619. **in spite of scorn**, in spite of his scorning to weep.

620. **Tears, such as Angels weep.** Just as we are told that the angels instead of blood had 'nectareous humour' (vi. 332) flowing in their veins, and that their bodies were not made of the dust of the earth but of some 'empyreal substance' (l. 117), so here their tears are represented as different from the tears of human beings.

For this softening touch in Satan's character see the Introduction, p. xxix.

629. **feared How.** We should expect 'feared that.' The poet uses 'how' as if he had written 'What power of mind could have foreseen or presaged.' Here, as in many other passages of Milton, the end of a sentence fits on to the sense rather than to the words of the previous part of the sentence. Often by such constructions poets can express their meaning with more epigrammatic brevity, than if they followed the ordinary rules of syntax. Thus here 'What power of mind foreseeing could have feared how such force could meet repulse,' is a shorter equivalent for 'What power of mind could have foreseen how such force could meet repulse, and so have come to fear that it ever would meet repulse.'

633. The rebel angels were one third of the whole angelic body (ii. 692). In ii. 835 Satan conjectures that a new race of beings has been created partly for the purpose of filling up the place left empty in heaven by the disappearance of himself and his followers.

636. **counsels different** from yours. Satan means to say that he had never sacrificed the general prosperity to his own private aggrandisement, that he had no private projects.

dangers shunned By me, avoidance of danger on my part. See l. 573.

642. **tempted our attempt.** Such jingles of sound, called by the grammarians paronomasia, are so frequent in Milton that they are blamed as one of the chief blemishes in his style.

649. (He) **Who overcomes By force** only conquers the body of

his enemy. The mind, if unconvinced, still remains unconquered. Much the same meaning is expressed by Bacon in his *Advancement of Learning* (I. viii. 3) where he remarks that power 'in free monarchies and commonwealths had a sweetness more than in tyrannies, because the commandment extendeth more over the wills of men, and not only over their deeds and services.'

650. **whereof**, etc., concerning which matter, namely, the creation of new worlds, there was so common a report in heaven, that he intended to create a new world and place in it a new race. In order to have a noun for 'therein' to refer to, we must understand a 'new world' as object of 'create.' It is not clear why Satan speaks of *new* worlds, as there is no mention of any world having existed before the creation of this world.

660. **Peace is despaired**, there is no hope of peace. 'Despair is here used in the passive, as if it were a transitive verb, although it is properly followed by the preposition 'of.'

661. **think submission**, think of submission, regard submission as a possible course.

662. **understood**, not openly declared, but recognized as the existing state of affairs without formal declaration.

668. The action of striking the spear with the shield expressed their ardour for battle.

672. **scurf**, which generally means the scales on the surface of the head, here means the matter that appeared on the outside of the hill. 'Sign' is in apposition to the 'scurf,' or to the idea of the sentence, the fact that the hill shone with a glossy scurf.

673. **his womb.** See l. 723.

674. It was a popular belief in Milton's time that the heat of sulphur converted ordinary earth into metals.

winged with speed. Cf. *Rich. III.*, 4. iii. 54—

'Then fiery expedition be my wing.'

676. **pioneer** is etymologically connected with 'pawn in chess, and 'peon,' which was introduced into India by the Portuguese All three are derived from *peon* or *pion* (from Lat. *pes*, a foot), a term meaning footsoldier, which was common to the French, Spanish, and Portuguese languages.

667. **trench a field**, cut trenches in a field for defensive purposes. It is the duty of pioneers to clear the way for an army, and construct intrenchments.

678. **Mammon** is a Chaldaic word meaning 'wealth,' which is personified under this name in Matt. vi. 24 and in Spenser's *Fairy Queen*, ii. 7. There does not seem to have been any god

called Mammon worshipped by the nations bordering on the territory of the Israelites.

679. **least erected**, most grovelling, basest. An upright carriage is the sign of lofty thoughts, while the downcast looks of one who cannot look you straight in the face are supposed to indicate baseness. Thus the ignoble Mammon is described as bending downwards both his looks and his thoughts. For another instance of a verb used with two nouns, literally with the one, and metaphorically with the other, see l. 502.

683. **aught divine or holy else**, any other divine and holy thing, that is, any divine or holy thing. As we can hardly be intended to regard the 'riches of heaven's pavement' as divine and holy, we have here an instance of confusion between two constructions, namely, 'more than anything else,' and 'more than any holy or divine thing.' This idiom is very frequent in the use of the Greek and Latin words for 'other.' See ii. 678.

684. **vision beatific**, sight that makes happy. This is a theological term for the privilege of seeing God, which fills with joy those who are admitted into heaven.

688. Todd quotes from Beaumont and Fletcher—

> 'Where earth hides all her riches near her centre,'

which line indicates that in this passage 'centre' means the centre of the earth, rather than, as in l. 74, the earth the centre of the universe.

688. **treasures better hid.** It would have been better for mankind if gold had remained undiscovered, as it has been the source of so much vice and bloodshed.

690. **Let none admire**, there is no reason to wonder. 'Admire' is used in the sense of the Latin '*admiror*.'

694. **Babel**, Babylon, which contained some of the greatest architectural works of the ancient world.

Memphian. See l. 307. The pyramids were the most celebrated works of the kings of Egypt.

697. **and in an hour**, and (how) in an hour (is easily outdone). As often happens in Milton, the comparison gains strength as it proceeds (see l. 292). The poet first merely says that the greatest works of human grandeur are easily surpassed by the work of devils, and then goes on to say that the far superior work of the devils is completed in one hour, while the greatest human works took an age to finish.

699. The mighty works of Egyptian and Assyrian kings were erected by the forced labour of great multitudes. It is said that 360,000 men were employed for nearly twenty years upon the construction of one of the Egyptian pyramids.

702. **Sluiced from the lake,** made to flow from the lake. A sluice is a flood-gate regulating the flow of water. As the ground was solid fire, they had to obtain liquid fire from the lake. See l. 229.

703. **founded** (Lat. *fundo*, melt), melted the ore, in order that it might flow into the mould got ready for its reception by the third multitude (l. 705), and so be formed into the required shape. Bentley restored 'founded,' the reading of the first edition, which had been altered into 'found out' in all the intermediate editions.

704. **scummed the bullion dross,** took the impure surface off the molten metal. 'Bullion' is a term that may be applied to uncoined gold or silver in any form. When bullion is coined it is thereby converted into specie.

707. **each hollow nook,** all the hollows in the mould.

708. **As in an organ.** The molten metal flowed into the hollows of the mould just as in an organ the wind driven by the bellows into the wind-chest rushes thence into the various pipes. The air that comes from the wind-chest is properly represented as coming from the sound-board, which forms the upper surface of the wind-chest.

Milton was himself fond of playing on the organ. Many passages in his poetry show his appreciation of music. (See particularly ll. 550-559; xi. 560-564; *Il Penseroso* 161.) This is the more remarkable as the Puritans looked upon music with no favourable eye, and objected to the organ being played in churches.

710. **Anon,** presently. See l. 549.

711. **like an exhalation.** The comparison is intended to illustrate the ease and rapidity with which the mighty palace was constructed. Owing to the total absence of bustle, noise, and other signs of labour, the building seemed to rise naturally out of the earth like an unsubstantial mist.

713. **pilasters** are square pillars projecting as far as a half or a third of their natural breadth from the wall against which they are built. 'Round' is an adverb.

714. **Doric pillars.** Just as the Doric mood (see l. 550) was the severest of the Greek harmonies, so Doric architecture was the severest style of Greek architecture. Doric pillars are distinguished from Ionian, Corinthian, and other pillars by the fact that they have no bases and by the absence of ornament on the capital.

715, 716. **Architrave, cornice, frieze.** The architrave is immediately above the capitals of the pillars, and is itself surmounted by the frieze. Above the frieze projects the cornice.

Figures embossed, that is represented in relief, are commonly placed on the frieze.

715. **nor did there want**, nor was there absent. 'Want' is here used intransitively, as in ii. 346.

718. When the Arabians in 638 captured Memphis, the ancient capital of Egypt, they founded at a distance of six miles a new city which they called Kahira, the city of victory, a name corrupted by the Italians into Cairo. The new city soon diverted to itself the whole population of Memphis, which became a city of ruins. Milton here rather loosely calls Memphis by the name of the new city which superseded it, although the two cities did not occupy the same site. There was a great temple of Serapis at Memphis. Belus was an Assyrian god, whose temple at Babylon is described by Herodotus (i. 181).

720. **Serapis** is generally pronounced 'Seraipis'; but Milton here makes the 'a' short, following the example of some of the later Latin poets.

seat Their kings, be the residence of their kings. The noun 'seat' means place of abode in i. 5, 243, 383, 467, and in many other passages.

723. **her.** In modern English inanimate objects, except when personified, belong to the neuter gender; but, in A. S. and early English, lifeless objects could be masculine and feminine. Milton when he uses the possessive pronouns makes many inanimate objects masculine and feminine, generally giving the English word the gender of its most natural Latin equivalent. Thus as 'moles,' the Latin word for 'pile,' is feminine, 'pile' is here made feminine. When 'his' is used we cannot be sure whether it is meant to be neuter or masculine; but we may presume that it is masculine in l. 673, as *collis*, a hill, and *mons*, a mountain, are masculine in Latin. See also ll. 176, 397, 592. It should be observed that, except in cases of personification, it is only when he is using the possessive that Milton treats the names of lifeless things as masculine and feminine. He would hardly use the feminine pronoun 'she' for 'pile' here, or for 'form' in l. 592, although he speaks of 'her (the pile's) height,' 'her (the form's) brightness.'

723. **highth** is in the objective case, expressing how much of the pile was fixed. It was firm along its whole height from top to bottom. In like manner, in the phrase 'bound hand and foot,' the words 'hand and foot' express how much of the person is bound. This accusative of extent is so common in Greek that it is called the Greek accusative.

725. **her spaces**, the pile's spaces, the immense interior of the pile. 'Within' is an adverb, and 'spaces' is object of 'discover' in the sense of 'reveal,' cf. l. 64.

728. A **cresset** was an ancient kind of lamp, consisting of an open vessel in which was burnt a rope steeped in some combustible fluid.

730. **The hasty multitude**, the multitude admiring entered in haste. The adjective 'hasty' is used instead of an adverb. This use of an adjective for an adverb is most common in English poetry, when the adjective so used does not immediately precede the noun with which it agrees. See note on ii. 302. However, instances of adjectives in distinctly adjectival positions used as adverbs are not uncommon in Greek, and may be found in English poetry; *e.g.*, 'The nightly hunter lifting up his eyes' in Wordsworth's *Excursion*, means 'the hunter lifting up his eyes at night.' Even in prose we find 'The pictures were hung from hasty nails upon the bare, ghastly walls' (*What Will He Do With It*, viii. 1), which means that the pictures were hastily hung on nails.

732. **the architect**, Mammon.

739. **Ausonian land**, Italy.

740. **Mulciber**, a surname of Vulcan, the Roman god of fire, who was identified with the Greek Hephaestus. According to Greek legend Hephaestus was thrown by Zeus (Jupiter, Jove) from heaven. Milton, who represents the Greek and Roman gods as being really devils (see l. 508), regards this story as an inaccurate version of what really happened, when Mammon in company with the other rebel angels was driven into hell.

756. **Pandemonium** (*pas*, all, and *daimon*, a demon) is a word invented by Milton, and formed on the analogy of Pantheon. The Pantheon at Rome was a temple containing statues of all the gods. Milton's Pandemonium was the capital of hell built to receive all the devils. The word 'pandemonium' has gained currency in the English language, being used to express a place full of tumultuous noise, confusion, and discord.

759. **By place or choice the worthiest**, those who by their rank or the election of the other angels were decided to be the most eminent.

761. **All access.** See ii. 130.

763. **covered field** seems to be an incorrect translation of the French *champ clos*, enclosed field. The lists were enclosed by boundaries, but not covered with a roof or awning.

764. **Wont**, past tense of either 'wone' or 'wont,' both of which are derived from the A. S. *wunian*, to dwell or be accustomed. Milton uses the present 'wons' in the sense of 'dwells' in vii. 457. He only uses 'wont' as a present tense twice in his poetry (*S. A.* 1487; *Comus* 332), generally preferring to express the present meaning by the combination of the participial adjective

'wont' (accustomed) with the present tense of the substantive verb 'be' (I am wont, thou art wont, etc.).

766. **mortal combat**, battle to the death with sharp weapons, as opposed to a friendly tilt with blunt spears. A mortal combat was called in chivalrous language a combat *à outrance*, and defiance to mortal combat was given by striking with the point of the spear the shield of the person challenged. See *Ivanhoe*, chap. viii.

career with lance, not necessarily a mortal combat, as the knights might encounter with blunt spears.

767. **Thick swarmed**, was densely crowded. In 776 'swarm' is predicated not as here of the place filled, but of the angels who filled the place.

769. **Taurus** is one of the signs of the Zodiac. The sun enters Taurus in April.

772. **the smoothed plank.** There is usually in front of a hive a smooth plank, forming a kind of verandah on which the bees can walk about. Being outside the hive, this plank bears to the hive the same relation as a suburb bears to a city.

774. **expatiate** (Lat. *expatior*), walk about. The word is here used in the literal sense of the Latin verb from which it is derived. In modern English to expatiate means to talk at length.

confer Their state-affairs, deliberate upon public matters. Milton follows Virgil in speaking of bees as if they formed a well-organized political community. 'Confer' in this sense is properly intransitive, but Milton uses it transitively as it suggests the transitive verb 'discuss.' See l. 521.

777. **but now who seemed**, who seemed only a short time ago.

780. See l. 575.

785. **arbitress**, spectator. 'Arbiter' in English means an umpire, but in Latin it also meant a spectator. Milton continually uses English words in the sense of the Latin words from which they are derived. For other instances of this practice see l. 774 (expatiate), l. 797 (frequent).

nearer to the Earth, because attracted by the enchantments of the fairies.

786. **pale course.** The epithet 'pale' is transferred from the moon to her course. Milton would more naturally have said 'the pale moon wheels her course.' This figure of speech, called Hypallage or transference of epithets, is very common among Latin and Greek poets, and not uncommon in English literature.

790. **were at large**, had plenty of room, were not confined for want of space.

791. **Though without number still**, though still numberless, though their numbers had not been diminished like their size.

793. **in their own dimensions like themselves**, without any diminution of their ordinary size.

795. **conclave.** Milton is fond of applying words with Roman Catholic associations to the devils. 'Conclave' and 'consistory' (*P. R.* i. 42) generally mean an assembly of cardinals at Rome.

797. **Frequent and full**, numerous and occupied by as many angels as they could hold. We must suppose the seats to be long benches, like those in the House of Commons, capable of holding many persons. 'Frequent' in ordinary English is predicated of events that occur often. The Latin *frequens* also meant numerous, and this is the sense in which Milton uses its English derivative here. See l. 785.

798. **After summons read**, after the reading of the summons (see l. 573). Milton is here imitating, as closely as he can, the course of procedure followed in the English Parliament. 'At the commencement of each session the sovereign delivers a speech, either in person or by commissioners, declaring the causes for which they are summoned; and, until this is done, neither house can proceed with any business.' This speech is called the King's or Queen's Speech. It is represented in Pandemonium partly by the reading of the summons mentioned in this line, partly by Satan's opening speech in the beginning of the second book. Milton could not exactly follow the English parliamentary procedure, as he had to make Satan take a prominent part in the debate, while in the English Parliament the sovereign can only deliver one speech declaring why Parliament has been summoned. The summons in l. 757 corresponds to the writs of summons ordering the election of Members of Parliament, which are sent to the various electoral districts.

NOTES.

BOOK II.

1. **state**, magnificence.

2. **Ormus**, the modern Hormuz, a city on the Persian Gulf, once the rich capital of a powerful kingdom, but now a mass of ruins.

4. It is doubtful whether this line merely means that the kings of the East are abundantly supplied with pearls and gold, or refers to the custom of sprinkling eastern kings at their coronation with gold dust and seed pearl. A Persian author, quoted by Warburton, describing the coronation of Tamerlane says that 'the princes of the blood royal and the emirs scattered with liberal hand over his head a quantity of gold and precious stones, according to the custom.'

'Barbaric' had better be taken to agree with 'kings' rather than with 'pearl and gold.'

5. **merit.** His merit consisted in his imposing stature, courage, and intellectual power, by which he was marked out as the most worthy to hold the rank of king among the fallen angels.

8. **Beyond thus high**, beyond this height to which he had been uplifted. 'High' is an adjective used as an abstract noun. Satan after being plunged in the depth of despair had risen to a far higher position than his hopes had at first aspired to. Now, not contented with this elevation, he aimed at still further improving his position.

9. **by success untaught**, not taught by the result. The success Satan referred to would in modern English be called want of success.

11. The commoner and more exhaustive enumeration of the various orders of angels will be found in v. 601, 'Thrones, Dominations, Princedoms, Virtues, Powers.' As to the meaning of these terms not much definite information is given by the theological writers who originated the nine angelic orders.

16. **than from no fall**, than they would have appeared, if they had not risen from a fallen state.

17. And will have such reliance upon themselves that they will have no fear of suffering another fatal overthrow.

18. **Me** is put in this unusual position, before the conjunction 'though,' in order to show that it does not belong exclusively to the dependent sentence; and is object not only of 'did create,' but also of the principal verb 'hath established' in l. 23. If

'me' had been put in its usual place, it would have had to be repeated with the principal verb. Milton is here utilizing a Latin practice with regard to the arrangement of words in a sentence.

18. **fixed laws of Heaven,** the laws that among other things regulated the rank of the various angels. Satan was the highest in rank of the fallen angels. He had been an archangel (i. 243, 593, 600), and Raphael even hints that he was the first of the archangels (v. 660), although this is not distinctly asserted. Thus, according to Milton, Satan had held in Heaven a position equal to that of the four greatest angels, Michael, Uriel, Raphael, and Gabriel, if not superior to them. At first it sounds strange to hear the rebel Satan appealing to the fixed laws of Heaven. But it must be remembered that the pretext of his rebellion was the degradation of the angels from their ancient rank by the exaltation of the Son of God at their expense (see v. 679 and 772-777); so that he professed to be a conservative rebel.

21. **this loss...recovered,** the recovery or retrieval of this loss. This is a good instance of the participial idiom. Compare l. 234. Although 'loss' is the grammatical subject of 'established,' it was not the loss, but the retrieval of the loss, that had established Satan more firmly on his throne.

26. **who here,** etc.? This is a rhetorical question expecting a negative answer, and therefore equivalent to a negative sentence.

27. **Will envy whom,** will envy (him) whom. See l. 249.

28. **the Thunderer,** a common Homeric title of Zeus, the Greek king of Heaven, is here applied to God. See l. 868.

30. **then** is not temporal here, but a logical particle introducing the next point in the argument.

33. **none whose portion is so small,** etc. This sentence may be taken in various ways. If we take 'that' as a consecutive particle, we must suppose an ellipse of 'he' the subject of 'covet' in the consecutive clause. The sentence would then be expressed in full as follows, 'None, whose portion is so small of present pain that (he) will with ambitious mind covet more, (will claim in Hell precedence),' which is equivalent to saying, 'There is no one in Hell whose portion is so small of present pain that he will covet more, and therefore there is no one here who will claim in Hell precedence exposing him to more pain.' The chief objection to this rendering of the passage is the harsh ellipse of the subject of the consecutive sentence, which it would be hard to parallel in Milton's poetry, though an instance is found in Shakespeare, *Much Ado About Nothing* iv. 1. 156—

> 'Who loved her so that speaking of her foulness
> Washed it with tears.'

See Abbott's *Shakespearian Grammar*, § 399.

Another way of taking the passage is to treat 'that' as a relative, and understand the consecutive clause. Then the sentence expressed in full would be, 'There is none in Hell whose portion of pain is so small (that he will covet more), that will covet more pain,' *i.e.*, 'There is none in Hell that on account of the smallness of his present pain will covet more pain,' because they all already suffer much pain.

It is not improbable that Milton blended these two constructions either intentionally or unconsciously. See l. 413.

37. **More than can be in Heaven,** where each of us would factiously contend for the happiness conferred by high rank.

40. **by what best way** is a combination of 'by what way' and 'what is the best way.'

47. **rather than be less,** etc., did not care to exist, *i.e.*, was willing to be annihilated, rather than exist in a position of inferiority. Having ceased to care for, *i.e.*, to fear annihilation, he had nothing left to fear, and so became utterly fearless.

48. **Cared not to be at all.** The subject 'he' is understood, being suggested by 'his trust was,' which is equivalent in meaning to 'he trusted.'

with that care lost, simultaneously with the loss of that care.

51. **sentence,** vote. The commonest meaning of the Latin *sententia* is a vote or opinion.

52. **them let those,** etc., let those who need wiles contrive them, or let (people) contrive them when they need them, not now. Moloch blurts out in his vehemence a sentence, the syntax of which is irregular. It is evident that the disjunctive 'or' is intended to make a contrast between 'who need' and 'when they need,' and so Moloch says that the use of wiles must be restricted either to those who cannot do without them, or to occasions when they are absolutely necessary. This being the case, the sense hardly allows us to understand the words 'let those who need wiles' as part of the second alternative in the disjunctive sentence, for, if we did so, the two contrasted conditions would both be joined together in the second member. We must therefore understand, instead, some wider term including rational beings generally, although the ordinary rules of syntax would make the second member of the disjunctive sentence be 'or (let those who need contrive them) when they need.'

55. **wait** is a transitive verb, as in i. 604; ii. 223.

61. **Armed with Hell-flames and fury.** For other instances of abstract and concrete nouns governed by the same word see l. 67, and x. 345.

63. **our tortures**, the instruments of our torture, namely, the flames and sulphur of Hell.

67. **Black fire.** The epithet black is probably applied to fire by hypallage on account of the accompanying smoke, much as Edward III.'s son was called the Black Prince on account of the colour of his armour.

69. **strange fire.** The fire of Hell was not like ordinary fire. We are told in i. 63 that it gave no light. The colour of the flames was, according to i. 182, livid or blue black, which may perhaps suggest another explanation of 'black' in l. 67.

Mixed with, enveloped in.

70. 'But perhaps,' or 'but' alone (equivalent to the Latin *at enim* or *at*), introduces an anticipated objection which the speaker intends to answer.

73. **such**, such as hold this opinion. This class of persons is suggested, though not actually mentioned, in the previous sentence.

drench, draught. In modern English 'drench' is a verb meaning to soak.

74. **forgetful**, causing forgetfulness. Cf. 'oblivious pool,' i. 266.

75. **proper motion.** 'Proper' here means natural, and is opposed to 'adverse' two lines below. Moloch means that, as it is natural for material bodies to fall downwards, so it is the nature of spiritual substances to rise upwards. In support of what he says, Moloch appeals in the next sentence to the experience of the fallen angels, who, he says, had had to struggle hard in order to sink so low, whereas a material body would have sunk without effort by its mere weight.

82. **Should we again provoke**, etc. Here another possible objection is introduced for consideration, although in this case no particle is used, as in l. 70, to show that it is an objection. This objection is partially answered by the conditional clause, which is cunningly inserted in the statement of the opponent's argument in order to weaken its force by suggesting a doubt as to the possibility of there being any worse way. In the next sentence Moloch follows up this idea by giving his hearers reason to believe that there can be nothing worse than what they are actually suffering.

83. **Our stronger**, he who is stronger than us. The possessive is used as 'stronger' is equivalent to some such noun as 'master,' 'conqueror.' In ordinary English we can speak of 'our superiors,' 'our betters.'

84. **if there be in Hell**, etc. The old editions have a semicolon before 'if,' making the conditional clause that follows not part of Moloch's statement of the opponent's argument, but his own reply

to that argument. In this case we must understand from what goes before a principal sentence, for the conditional clause to depend on, and Moloch replies to his supposed opponent, 'His wrath may indeed find some worse way, if there be in Hell fear to be worse destroyed; but if we have reason to believe that nothing worse than our present condition is possible, then it would be absurd to be deterred by fear of incurring worse punishment.'

85. **What can be worse**, etc. This rhetorical question, expecting the answer 'No,' is equivalent to 'Nothing can be worse.'

87. **utter woe**, perfect misery.

92. **More destroyed**, etc. We cannot suffer more destruction than this without being entirely annihilated, and so being freed from pain.

94. In this line the second 'what' is evidently equivalent to 'for what,' 'why.' The first 'what' has probably the same meaning, though it might be the object of 'fear.' This meaning of 'what' is common in Shakespeare.

97. **this essential**, this essence. Milton here and in l. 278 imitates the Latin and Greek practice of using neuter adjectives as substantives.

happier far, etc. Which state, namely the state of annihilation, would be happier than eternal misery.

100. **we are at worst**, etc., we are as miserable as beings 'on this side nothing,' *i.e.*, existing beings, possibly can be, and therefore no change in our position can possibly be a change for the worse. Here Moloch reverts to the argument first suggested in l. 84. The principal sentence is not the true consequent of the conditional clause, for their present extreme misery is a fact, and depends upon no condition; but what really is asserted by the whole conditional sentence is that, if they are immortal, that is no reason why they should fear the result, as change for the worse is impossible. The consequent in sense, 'we have nothing to fear,' is suggested by the grammatical consequent.

According to another way of taking the passage, the principal sentence is the true consequent of the conditional clause. Moloch's meaning may be that, if they are immortal, then at worst, *i.e.*, however miserable they may be, they will escape annihilation, and have that consolation at least. But this interpretation can hardly be reconciled with the lines immediately preceding, where it was said that annihilation is preferable to extreme misery.

The argument in the latter half of this speech is a dilemma. The rebel angels need not fear punishment. For punishment must either be annihilation, or some new state of existence. But annihilation would be preferable to their present misery, and no

new state of misery could possibly be worse than what they now endure. Belial in his speech replies that even misery is preferable to annihilation, and that their present misery is capable of aggravation.

104. **fatal**, upheld by fate. See i. 133.

105. The speech ends forcibly with the strong and characteristic word 'revenge,' pronounced, no doubt, in a loud voice, and emphasized with a terrible frown. Milton makes a fine contrast between the undisguised ferocity with which Moloch ends his speech, and the graceful uprising of the next speaker.

109. **act**, posture, attitude, or gesture, as in ix. 668. This meaning is generally expressed by the rhetorical term 'action' ('Suit the action to the word, the word to the action'—*Hamlet* iii. 2), but is still retained by the word 'act' in such phrases as 'in act to strike,' which means, 'in the posture or attitude of a person about to strike.' Cf. also the following couplet from Pope's *Temple of Fame*, which seems to be modelled on Milton's description of Belial :—

> 'Gathering his flowing robe, he seemed to stand
> In act to speak, and graceful stretched his hand.'

humane, refined. 'Humane' is still used in this sense when we speak of the study of humane literature.

113. **his tongue Dropt manna**, very sweet, persuasive words fell from his tongue. Homer describes Nestor's voice as 'flowing sweeter than honey.' Milton prefers to compare Belial's words to manna, the heavenly food given to the wandering Israelites, which tasted 'like wafers made with honey' (Ex. xvi. 31).

113. **make the worse appear The better reason**, delude his hearers into accepting unsound arguments. The ancient sophists in Greece were charged by their enemies with teaching their pupils how to do this.

115. **for**, etc., supports the assertion made in l. 112.

his thoughts were low, like those of Mammon. (See i. 679-682.)

123. **success**, result, as in l. 9.

124. Belial, in accordance with his character, shows a conciliatory spirit, and pays a graceful compliment to the speaker whom he is controverting. At the same time he skilfully uses the compliment in support of his argument

in fact of arms, in warlike prowess.

127. **scope**, end sought.

129. **First, what revenge?** In the first place, we must ask, what revenge we are likely to obtain.

130. **all access**, every passage leading to heaven. 'Access' has the same meaning in i. 761, 'All access was thronged.'

131. **the bordering Deep**, Chaos.

132. **obscure wing.** The epithet 'obscure' is transferred by hypallage from the dark realm of night to the wings of the angels who explore it.

134. **Scorning surprise**, taking such precautions that they are justified in despising any attempts at surprise as fore-doomed to failure.

134-142. It should be noticed how closely Belial's reply follows the arguments of the preceding speech. Lines 134-142, 145-151, 159-185 respectively answer ll. 60-70, 97-98, 85-93. The only important part of Moloch's speech which remains unanswered is the argument to show that the fallen angels could easily rise upwards (see ll. 70-81). But Belial is not bound to answer this, as he shows that even though they rose to heaven they could not surprise its impregnable towers, and would be inevitably defeated.

135. **all Hell should rise**, (if) all hell should rise. 'If' is understood from 'could we break,' equivalent to 'if we could break,' in the previous line.'

139. **ethereal**, of aether. See ll. 275, 430 (notes). 'Mould' here means substance, in which sense it must be distinguished from 'mould' as used in i. 706, a word with a different meaning and derivation.

141. **Her mischief**, any harm it might suffer. 'Mould' is treated as feminine, because its Latin equivalent *substantia* is feminine.

142. **Thus repulsed**, we being thus repulsed, *i.e.*, if we are thus repulsed.

our final hope Is flat despair. The same oxymoron or contradiction in terms is found in Shakespeare, *Henry VI. Part 3.* ii. 3.

'Our hap is loss, our hope but sad despair.'

Moloch's opinion is purposely put in this form, so as to show its paradoxical character.

147. **this intellectual being.** Milton here and in ll. 557-569 attributes intellectual tastes to the fallen angels. From the consideration of the references made by Milton to philosophy and science in his writings, it is evident that he had a strong natural liking for the study of abstruse questions. In his youth he seems to have had no misgivings as to the propriety of indulging in such studies. Thus in *Comus*, written when he

was twenty-five years old, we have a fine Platonic passage followed by a burst of unqualified enthusiasm for philosophy :—

> 'How charming is divine philosophy !
> Not harsh, and crabbed, as dull fools suppose,
> But musical as is Apollo's lute,
> And a perpetual feast of nectared sweets,
> Where no crude surfeit reigns.'

But as the poet advanced to old age, his blindness and other misfortunes made him more austere, and the Puritanical aversion to all secular culture gained greater influence over his mind, so that he regarded philosophy as a delusive guide, distracting the mind of man from divine truth. In this spirit, after making the fallen angels discuss the deepest questions of philosophy in ll. 557-564 of this book, he condemns the metaphysical knowledge they display as "vain wisdom all and false philosophy," and in the eighth book Raphael warns Adam against troubling himself about questions that do not concern him. The passage that throws most light on Milton's attitude towards philosophy in his later years is in the third book of *Paradise Regained*, where Satan's elaborate panegyric of Greek philosophy and literature is answered by Christ. The extreme beauty and power of the panegyric shows clearly that Milton's natural inclination was to be a devoted student of philosophy ; while from the fact that he condemns philosophy out of the mouth of Christ, it is evident that, in spite of his keen appreciation of the fascinating nature of the study, he thought it inimical to the higher interests of religion. See also *Samson Agonistes*, 302-305.

148. Cf. viii. 188 ; *S. A.* 302. Thoughts are said to wander through space and time, because it is possible to think of the most distant star or events long past.

150. **uncreated Night**, the darkness that existed from eternity, before the creation of the world.

152. **Let this be good**, supposing for the sake of argument that annihilation would be a blessing.

155. **Will He**, etc., He will not. See l. 85.

156. **Belike**, probably. The line is ironical, and suggests two suppositions that cannot for a moment be accepted as probable.

impotence, want of restraint, ungovernable passion. This is one of the meanings of the Lat. *impotentia*.

159. **endless**, eternally. The adjective is used as an adverb.

164. **sitting, consulting**, (being) **in arms**, verbal nouns in apposition to 'this.'

170. **What if**, what (would be the result) if, *i.e.*, would not our condition be worse if ?

174. **His red right hand**, the right hand of vengeance or of God.

182. **racking**, sweeping violently along. Thus the noun 'rack' means a collection of storm-clouds driven violently before the wind.

184. **converse with**, according to Keightley, dwell with groans, *i.e.* have groans for companions. The Lat. *conversor* has this meaning. But Belial may be thinking of himself and his companions condemned to everlasting inaction, and only able to talk with one another as Satan and Beelzebub conversed before they rose from the burning lake (see i. 192). Such a conversation would naturally be often interrupted by groans.

185. Milton is particularly fond of writing three or four negative adjectives without a conjunction, both in his poetry and prose. For other instances see iii. 231, 373; v. 899.

186. **Ages of hopeless end**, throughout ages the end of which can never be hoped for. 'Hopeless' is generally applied to persons devoid of hope, or to that which affords no ground for hope (*e.g.* 'the sick man is in a hopeless condition'): here it is used of something which never can be an object of reasonable hope. In like manner 'conscious' in l. 801 is applied not to the person feeling, but to the terror felt.

187. So far Belial has been answering Moloch's arguments. He now treats the more general question of debate introduced by Satan. Cf. ll. 187, 188 with l. 41.

188. **What can force or guile With Him**, force and guile are utterly useless in a struggle with Him.

196. **Better these than worse**, it is better to endure these than worse torments. Belial acts upon the principle expressed in Hamlet's soliloquy, where it is said that the dread of something after death

> 'Makes us rather bear those ills we have
> Than fly to others that we know not of.'

199. **To suffer, as to do.** The same antithesis is expressed in i. 158.

201. **This was at first resolved.** Belial means that, when they entered upon their perilous attempt, they surely foresaw the possibility of terrible punishment, and deliberately with their eyes open resolved to run the risk. By the words 'if we were wise' he implies that, if they did not see all this clearly, they were very stupid.

204. **at the spear.** 'Spear' is here equivalent to fighting with the spear, so 'at' in this passage has the same meaning as in the phrases 'at work,' 'at play,' where it governs nouns denoting the occupation engaged in.

212. **not offending**, if we do not offend.

213. **With what is punished**, with that punishment which is already inflicted. The passive verb here has a cognate subject instead of a subject denoting the person punished. Although we speak of fighting a fight, dying a death, etc., it is not ordinary English to speak of punishing a punishment. Therefore Milton is deviating from common usage when he speaks of punishment being punished in the sense of punishment being inflicted. As usual, he is imitating the practice of classical writers, who use much more frequently than English writers the accusative of a notion cognate to the verb. The student who knows Latin may compare *Aeneid* ii. 690.

219. The position of the adjective 'familiar' indicates that it is the true predicate of the sentence. The meaning is that in the course of time the fierce heat will become familiar, and therefore painless, just as loud sounds often repeated at last are scarcely heard. Milton is imitating the Greek practice, according to which, if an adjective agreeing with a noun preceded by an article is not placed between the noun and the article, it is thereby known to be not an epithet but a predicate.

220. **this darkness** (will grow) **light**, this darkness will appear less dark. 'Light' is probably, like 'mild,' an adjective, not, as Keightley thinks, a noun. Notice the oxymoron (see l. 142). Belial's hope agrees with the well-known fact that when we are suddenly plunged into darkness we can see nothing, but presently our eyes get used to it and we can discern objects.

223. **Worth waiting**, worth waiting for, worth awaiting. 'Wait' is here used as a transitive verb. 'Worth' and 'like' and 'near' (l. 609) are about the only adjectives in English that govern the objective case.

224. Though not a good lot if considered as a happy lot, yet if considered as a bad lot not the worst possible. This use of 'for' to express the standard or point of view according to which anything is estimated is found in such sentences as 'he is well educated for a peasant,' *i.e.*, if judged by the rather low standard usually applied to peasants, he may be considered learned.

232. **when**, etc., never. Chaos, being the personification of anarchy and irregularity, might be expected, if chosen as arbiter, to decide in favour of chance and against fate, that is, the everlasting law by which the future is predetermined; but of course Chaos will never be entrusted with so much authority.

234. **The former, vain to hope**, the vanity of the former hope. This is the same construction as that already noticed in l. 21, except that here we have instead of a participle an adjective.

argues, proves. If the former hope (the hope of disenthroning

God) is vain, it necessarily follows that the latter hope (the hope of regaining their rights) is equally vain.

239. **with what eyes.** Mammon means that the thought of the humiliation that would be expressed in their countenance if they accepted such a degrading position is alone enough to prevent them from accepting it. The language used is like that of the common idiom, 'How could I have the face to make such an audacious proposal?' *i.e.*, shame would prevent me from making it; but is more closely modelled on two or three passages in Greek tragedy, in which Sophocles speaks of the eyes alone, instead of the whole countenance, as revealing shame and other feelings. See *Ajax* 462; *O. T.* 1371.

241. It is not easy to determine whether 'celebrate' here means 'glorify,' or 'crowd round,' which is the original meaning of the Latin *celebro*. Either meaning suits the context.

242. **warbled.** This verb, generally applied to the singing of small birds, is here used contemptuously of the angelic choirs. A good angel or a pious man would hardly have spoken of warbling hymns.

243. **Forced,** not sung spontaneously.

Hallelujahs (Hebr. praise Jehovah), hymns of praise.

244. **sovran** coming after the intransitive verb 'sits' is in apposition to the subject 'he.'

245. Bentley wished to make this line easier by reading

'Ambrosial odours from ambrosial flowers.'

However we must make sense out of the line as it stands. Todd remarks that by 'odours' here Milton means 'the smells of gums and sweet spicy shrubs,' as distinct from the scent of flowers. Thus God's altar breathes or emits two distinct kinds of fragrance. 'Breathes flowers' means 'emits the fragrance of flowers,' the flower being identified with its scent, the cause with the effect, as probably is the case in viii. 517, where the same opposition is drawn between the fragrance of flowers and the 'odours from the spicy shrub.'

Another way to interpret the line is to take 'flowers' in its ordinary sense and understand from 'breathes' a new verb, *e.g.*, 'displays' to govern 'flowers.' For other instances of zeugma see i. 393, 441; ii. 378.

249. **To whom,** to him whom. The antecedent is understood.

250. 'Impossible,' 'obtain'd' and 'unacceptable' agree with 'state.' The state of vassalage cannot possibly be obtained by force, and if obtained by permission would not be agreeable.

253. **from our own Live to ourselves,** depending on our own resources live the life that pleases us, instead of living a life of dependence spent in paying tributes of glory to God.

258. **of**, from. Milton uses this preposition again to express change of state in ix. 712:—

'I of brute human; ye, of human, gods.'

264. 'He made darkness his secret place, his pavilion round about him dark waters and thick clouds of the sky' (Ps. xviii. 11). See also Ps. xcvii. 2, and 1 Kings viii. 12.

265. **His glory unobscured**, without His glory being impaired by the surrounding darkness.

272. **from whence.** 'From' is redundant, as 'whence' by itself means 'from where.'

275. The five elements, according to Greek physics, are earth, water, air, fire, and aether. Living beings are happiest in their own elements (vii. 16; viii. 348), fish in the water, birds in the air, beasts on the earth. From this fact, when a person suffers from being in inappropriate surroundings he is said to be out of his element, or compared to a fish out of water. Aether is the element of the angels. Fire is the element of no living beings, although the ancients supposed that the salamander could live in it. Mammon's idea is that the fallen angels, whose element used to be the aether of the empyrean, will under changed circumstances become so familar with fire that it will become their element and cause them no pain. The only difficulty remaining is that the five elements are generally treated as collectives, and, when one only is spoken of, the singular number is used. On this account Keightley suggests that Milton may have dictated not 'elements' but 'element.' However, the alteration is not necessary, as fire is the least continuous of the elements, and may be looked upon distributively as being composed of many fires. Also in this line the plural 'elements' is more naturally used than the singular, since it is in apposition to the plural 'torments.' Mammon is repeating in different language the thought already expressed by Belial in ll. 217-220.

278. **The sensible of pain**, sensibility to pain. This is the same Greek idiom as is used in l. 97.

280. **how...war.** This noun clause must be taken with 'counsels,' the intermediate words being as completely ignored as if they were in a parenthesis. The meaning is, 'All things invite us quietly to consult, how,' etc. Similarly, in l. 917, the words 'into this wild abyss' are not to be taken with the verb that immediately follows, but with 'looked' in the next line. Compare also xi. 711, where an object is governed not by the nearer but by the more remote verb, and i. 629.

281. **Compose our present evils**, make the best arrangements, so as to reduce our present evils.

282. In the second edition 'where' was altered into 'were,' which gives a less forcible meaning.

285. **hollow rocks retain.** Milton compares the murmurs of applause to the subdued sounds produced along a craggy coast on the morning after a storm by the winds which still blow, though with diminished violence. The rocks hollowed by the sea are said to retain the sound, because occasional gusts continue to be distinctly audible whistling through crevices along the rocky sea-coast at a time when elsewhere the wind might seem to have entirely subsided.

288. **o'erwatched,** wearied out with watching. When passivity of any kind is suggested by the word used, Elizabethan writers do not scruple to use a passive where we should expect an active participle. Here long watching suggests the passive idea of being overwearied. Compare such expressions in ordinary English, as 'fair-spoken' (endowed with fair speech), 'drunken' (filled with drink), 'well read' (supplied with extensive knowledge of books).

292. **field.** See l. 768.

295. **and no less desire,** and desire of founding this nether empire (wrought within them) no less, *i.e.*, not less powerfully than the fear of thunder, etc.

299. **than whom,** see i. 490. Beelzebub here, as in i. 79, is represented as Satan's chief supporter.

302. **Deep on his front engraven,** deeply engraved on his forehead. See l. 159.

305. **Majestic** agrees with face. Beelzebub in spite of his fall retained like Satan (i. 592) traces of his original grandeur visible in his outward appearance.

306. **Atlantean shoulders.** Atlas was a giant who was supposed to bear the weight of Heaven on his shoulders.

310. See i. 324.

312. **style,** title of dignity.

315. **doubtless! while we dream,** no doubt we come to that resolution while indulging in vain imaginations instead of clearly examining the real position of affairs, *i.e.*, there is no doubt that such a project is based upon expectations that will not be fulfilled and is therefore quite impracticable. Notice the rhetorical artifice by which Beelzebub using the first person appears to include himself among the vain dreamers, whose delusions he is exposing. He does this to avoid giving offence to Belial and Mammon.

324. **In highth or depth,** in the heighth of Heaven or the depth of Hell.

first and last, from the beginning to the end, for ever.

328. **golden** (sceptre). An iron sceptre like the commoner

phrase 'rod of iron' suggests stern rule, while a golden sceptre implies benignant exercise of power.

329. **What.** See l. 94.

330. **War hath determined us**, the result of the war has settled the question for us.

336. **to our power**, to the greatest extent of our power, as much hostility as we can.

336. **But...hostility.** The preposition 'but' would naturally govern in this context a noun meaning some kind of peace, and not 'hostility,' which cannot possibly be regarded as a species of peace. This passage and the similar use of 'except' in l. 678, may best be explained as a blending of two possible constructions. Beelzebub might have said 'What peace can we return,' *i.e.*, we cannot return any kind of peace, or 'What can we return but hostility,' *i.e.*, we can return nothing but hostility; but from a confusion of thought the two constructions are blended. There is probably the same confusion of constructions in l. 333, although it is possible to suppose the preposition 'but' to be used regularly in that passage, since custody severe may be regarded as a one-sided kind of peace, such as was the *pax Romana* (Roman peace) imposed on subject nations by imperial Rome.

337. **reluctance**, here and in x. 1045 is used in its original Latin sence of 'struggling,' 'resistance,' whereas in modern English it means the mental feelings of a person who shrinks from doing something.

346. **fame**, report, as in i. 651.

353. This idea is imitated from Homer who represents Zeus as shaking Olympus by the expression of his will.

355. **inhabit**, a verb ordinarily transitive, is here used intransitively.

mould being practically equivalent to substance (see l. 39) the following words 'or substance' are redundant and unnecessary. In i. 556 there is a similar redundancy as 'swage' has the same meaning as 'mitigate.'

367. **puny.** 'It is possible that the author by puny might mean no more than weak and little; but yet, if we reflect how frequently he uses words in their proper and primary significations, it seems probable that he might include likewise the sense of the French (from whence it is derived) *puis né*, born since, created long after us.'—*Newton.* For instances of this practice attributed to Milton by Newton see the Appendix at the end of the notes.

369. As 'prove' is here used intransitively, 'foe' is in apposition to God.

375. **original**, origin.

376. **Advise**, take counsel, deliberate. In modern English 'advise' generally means 'give counsel.'

worth Attempting. 'Attempting' is a verbal noun governed by 'worth.' See l. 223.

378. **Hatching vain empires.** See l. 315. We have here an instance of zeugma as 'to sit,' etc., is subject of 'be better' or some such words suggested by 'be worth attempting.'

379. **first devised.** See i. 650-656.

383. **in one root.** As by the destruction of the root of a plant the whole plant is utterly destroyed, so by ruining the first parents of mankind Satan hoped to ruin the whole human race.

387. **States**, equivalent to estates, the component parts of a national parliament. In England the Parliament is composed of three estates, the Lords Spiritual, the Lords Temporal, and the Commons.

389. **he thus renews.** The word 'renews' shows that the following speech belongs to Beelzebub, although the opening words expressing approval of the decision arrived at would be more natural from the mouth of Satan who convened the synod.

391. The fallen angels are fond of calling themselves gods (i. 116, 138; ii. 11; vi. 156, 366) as an assertion of their pretended equality with Jehovah (see i. 248). The angels are undoubtedly represented by the poet himself as partaking in the divine nature. Thus the grand infernal peers are called demi-gods in i. 796, and in iii. 341 Jehovah addresses his faithful angels as gods.

395. **whence**, from where. The place referred to cannot be their 'ancient seat,' the 'bright confines' of heaven, for heaven was to be the goal, not the starting-point of the contemplated excursions. The place *whence* the excursions were to be made must be the region near, perhaps in view of, the confines of Heaven, but still outside it, which is clearly indicated, though not expressed by any noun in the preceding clause.

396. If 'chance' is an adverb, 're-enter' is infinitive after 'may'; but perhaps 'chance' is here a verb.

398. **of**, 'by.' Cf. i. 30, 508; and Abbott's *Shakespearian Grammar*, § 170.

399. **orient beam**, the rays of the rising sun.

406. **palpable obscure**, chaos which is involved in darkness so thick that it can be felt by the touch. See Exodus x. 21. Here the adjective 'obscure' and in l. 409 the adjective 'abrupt' are used as nouns. See l. 438.

407. **uncouth.** See l. 827.

aery flight. Note the distinction between 'aery' and 'ethereal' (139, 601), the adjectives respectively of 'air' and 'aether.'

410. **The happy Isle**, the world surrounded by chaos and empty

space, as an island is surrounded by water. 'Arrive' governs an object as if it were a transitive verb, because it easily suggests the transitive verb 'reach.' See l. 223.

413. **Here he had need All circumspection.** This seems to be a confusion of two constructions (1) 'He had need be circumspect,' *i.e.*, would have need to be circumspect (see vi. 625), and (2) 'He will need circumspection,' in the former of which 'need' is a noun while in the latter it is a transitive verb. In this line 'need,' as being governed by 'had' (would have), is treated as a noun, while as governing 'circumspection,' a noun in the objective case, it seems to be used as a verb.

414. **we now no less Choice,** we now no less (had need) choice, that is, it is equally necessary for us to make careful selection of a fit messenger.

418. **expectation held His look suspense,** the state of suspense that he was in, while waiting to see how his proposal would be accepted, was clearly expressed in his countenance.

419. **To second,** to support his proposal, that some one should go to explore the new world.

421. **each In other's countenance,** etc., each of them saw from his neighbours' countenances that they felt the same dismay as he felt.

429. **unmoved,** not affected by the terror that affected the others. Professor Masson supposes that 'unmoved' means 'unsolicited, of his own accord.' Dr. Bradshaw takes the word literally as meaning 'without rising from his seat,' which he supports by pointing to the fact that the other speakers stood up to speak, while Satan rose (l. 466) at the conclusion of his speech.

430. **Empyreal** (Gr. *pur*, fire) = ethereal, as aether was supposed to be a subtle fire.

Thrones. See l. 11 (note). Milton often applies to a large collection of all kinds of angels titles properly belonging only to a limited number of them. In so doing he follows the practice of Homer, who commonly calls the collective Greek army Argives, although it included contingents from many other Greek races.

436. **Ninefold.** The number is taken from Virgil, who makes the river Styx flow nine times round Hell. Because the fire made a ninefold wall, the gates of hell were also ninefold, as we learn in l. 645, where we also find that only three of the nine gates were made of adamant. For 'adamant' see l. 646.

438. **the void profound.** It is not quite clear which of these adjectives is used as a noun. More probably 'profound' is the noun, as it is certainly used as a noun in l. 980.

439. **unessential,** unreal, non-existent. See *P. R.* iv. 400, where darkness and night are described as being

'Unsubstantial both,
Privation mere of light and absent day.'

441. **abortive gulf**, chaos where 'nature breeds perverse, all monstrous, all prodigious things,' l. 625.

443. **what remains him less Than**, the least evils that await him are. 'Remains' is here used transitively as being equivalent to 'await' and the Latin *maneo*.

445. **But I should ill become**. Here Satan's speech insists upon the fact expressed by the well-known French proverb *noblesse oblige*, high rank has its obligations. Milton probably has in his mind Sarpedon's speech in the 12th Iliad, in which the fact that those who enjoy the privileges of high rank are bound to take the foremost post in times of danger is grandly expressed. The same conviction may be found in the Ramayana in the reproaches uttered by Angada against the monkeys fleeing before Kumbhakarna: 'Where go ye now, frightened like ignoble monkeys, forgetful of yourselves, your valour, and your race,' and in Hanuman's sentiment, 'Flight is unbecoming in heroes of noble race.'

452. **Refusing**, if I refuse. The participle, as often in Latin, does not express a fact but a condition.

457. **Terror of Heaven**. Abstract for concrete. The name of the emotion is applied to the person who causes it as in i. 406 **intend**, attentively consider.

467. **prevented**. Here 'prevent' is half-way between its original derivative meaning 'go before' (*prae*, before, and *venio*, I come) and its modern meaning 'hinder.' Satan's sudden rise was made before anyone had time to reply, and so no reply could be made.

468. **from his resolution raised**, owing to the determination he had given utterance to. 'Raise' is used in much the same sense when we speak of raising a question, *i.e.*, giving public utterance to a question. Perhaps however 'raised' may agree with 'others,' in which case it must mean either 'excited to courage by Satan's example' (cf. i. 99, 529, 551) or 'moved to rise,' that is, 'incited to address the assembly and volunteer for the dangerous service.' 'Rise' is the verb usually employed to express the action of a person who intends to make a speech, as in ll. 108, 301.

469. **offer**, offer to undertake, undertake.

482. **neither**. As Professor Masson remarks, the word 'neither' shows that the poet is already thinking of the traits of nobility to be found in bad men. Thus the full meaning of this sentence is, 'Just as bad men do not lose all their virtue, so neither do the spirits damned lose all theirs.'

483. **lest bad men should boast**, etc. The purpose expressed in this final clause explains rather why Milton mentions the fact

that the bad angels have some virtue, than why God has allowed them to retain some fragments of virtue. The poet mentions the fact in order that bad men may be prevented from boasting by the knowledge that they are not superior to the devils in Hell. For a similar ellipse see l. 698.

490. **the louring element**, the air or sky. See l. 275.

491. **Scowls.** If Milton had written 'scowls a scowl' we should have had as plain and simple an instance of the cognate accusative as 'grinned a smile' (l. 846). In this passage the snow and shower being regarded as the expression of the scowl of heaven, just as the gums are regarded as the tears of the trees in iv. 248, these two nouns are governed as cognate accusatives by the ordinarily intransitive verb 'scowl.' Compare the common phrase 'look daggers' and the cognate subject of a passive verb in l. 213.

494. **bleating herds.** We should rather expect 'lowing herds' or 'bleating flocks,' as bleating is the cry of sheep and goats, the smaller animals, collections of which are called flocks, while herds are composed of large animals like cattle which low. The explanation seems to be that Milton, although he uses the word 'herds,' has in his mind all animals large and small, and, being unable to enumerate all their various cries, mentions one of the commonest. The same explanation may perhaps apply to the use of 'bleating' in i. 489.

495. **that hill and valley rings**, so that hill and valley are filled with the sound. Here the verb is singular, although the subject consists of two nouns. The justification given for a similar irregularity in i. 139 is not applicable here. 'Hill' and 'valley' being distinct and opposed to each other can hardly be regarded as one idea. We can only say that this irregularity is very common in Shakespeare (see Abbott's *Shakespearian Grammar*, § 335, 336), and is partly due to the existence of an old third person plural ending in 's.'

497. **men only disagree.** This proposition sounds strange in a poem describing the war between the good and the bad angels. Scott in Rokeby similarly contrasts the hostility of man against man with the peace, that, contrary to the facts of nature, he supposes to prevail among animals of the same kind.

> 'The hunting tribes of air and earth
> Respect the brethren of their birth;
>
> . . . . .
>
> Even tiger fell, and sullen bear,
> Their likeness and their lineage spare;
> Man, only, mars kind nature's plan,
> And turns the fierce pursuit on man.'
>
> *Rokeby* iii. 1.

499. **God proclaiming peace**, though God proclaims peace.

503. **which.** The antecedent of 'which' is the fact about to be mentioned, viz., the multitude of man's hellish foes.

506. **Stygian.** See 577.

508. **Paramount.** This feudal term means a supreme lord, who is the feudal superior of other feudal lords.

509. **Alone the antagonist,** able without assistance to oppose God.

512. **A globe.** It must be remembered, that, as Masson remarks, the angels could in the air arrange themselves in figures of three dimensions. Thus 'globe' here and in *P.R.* iv. 581 means a spherical formation.

fiery Seraphim. As 'seraph' is derived from a Hebrew root meaning 'burn,' the epithet gives the meaning of the noun. Milton often either suggests or distinctly states the English equivalents of the Hebrew and Greek words he has occasion to introduce into his verse. See i. 392; ii. 577-583, 630. In so doing, he is probably imitating Virgil. See Conington's note on *Æneid*, i. 298.

513. **emblazonry,** heraldic decoration on shields and standards, such as the seraphic arms mentioned in i. 539.

horrent means both bristling and dreadful, as 'horrid' does in i. 563.

514. **cry,** proclaim aloud.

517. **alchymy,** a composite metal like brass, supposed to have been invented by the alchemists. The word here means trumpets made of this metal. Cf. the use of 'metal' in i. 540.

518. **By harald's voice explained.** 'Explained' agrees with 'alchymy.' The meaning of the trumpet blast was explained by the herald, who told the multitude what conclusion the council had come to. It will be remembered that the council was secret. See i. 795.

521. Their minds being by this intelligence calmed and inspired with a certain amount of hope.

528. **sublime,** high up. This is the literal meaning of the Latin *sublimis*.

529. **Upon the wing** goes with 'in the air sublime,' 'in swift race' with 'on the plain.' Such a reversal of the order of thoughts previously observed is called chiasmus. The disjunctive particle 'or' shows that 'race' is here limited to the meaning foot race. The word 'race' in its widest sense would include a contest of swiftness upon the wing.

530. **the Olympian games** were celebrated at Olympia in Elis. The **Pythian** games, held near Delphi, were called Pythian after the name of the great serpent slain by Apollo.

531. **Part curb**, etc., some ride on horseback.

shun the goal, just avoid touching the goal with the wheels of their chariots. In Greek and Roman chariot races the goals were posts, round which the competing chariots had to go. The charioteers, in order to take the shortest course, showed their skill by driving as close to the goals as they possibly could.

532. **fronted brigads**, brigades formed with a front (see i. 563), *i.e.* formed in battle array.

533. **to warn proud cities.** Josephus relates that, when Jerusalem was about to be besieged by Titus, 'before sunsetting, chariots and troops of soldiers were seen running about among the clouds.'

536. **prick**, pierce the horse's side with spurs, ride. The shadowy knights ride in advance of the main bodies in order to gain renown by engaging in single combat. They are called 'aery' because they appeared in the air and seemed to be made of air.

couch their spears, place their lances in rest. The rest was a projection on the breast armour by which the lance was partially supported when a knight charged his adversary.

539. **Typhœan**, gigantic. Typhœus or Typhon (i. 199) was a Greek giant.

542. **from Œchalia**, coming crowned with conquest from Œchalia. Hercules (Alcides) was killed by the poisoned robe presented to him by his wife Deianira. While maddened by the pain he threw into the sea his attendant Lichas who had brought him the robe. Newton objects to the simile on the ground that the image of Alcides tearing up Thessalian pines sinks below that of the angels rending up both rocks and hills, and riding the air in a whirlwind.

550. When Brutus was about to commit suicide, he quoted two lines of Euripides, 'O unhappy virtue, you were after all mere words, and I practised thee as a reality: you it seems were enslaved to force,' or, according to another reading, 'to chance.' Milton is evidently thinking of these two lines of his favourite Greek dramatic poet, and, as Bentley remarks, comprehends the two readings in his verse.

552. **Their song was partial**, as for instance when they ascribed to themselves Virtue and attributed their fall to Fate, Force, and Chance, instead of to their own criminal ambition.

554. **Suspended Hell**, kept the whole of hell in a state of breathless attention. Milton probably has in his mind the effect of the music of Orpheus, which is related by Virgil to have interrupted for a time the progress of the infernal punishments.

555. **more sweet.** Milton thinks eloquence sweeter than music for the reason given in the next line, namely, because the former

pleases the higher, the latter only the lower part of human nature.

558. **high**, in a lofty strain.

560. The poet by repeating the subjects of discussion in reverse order indicates by the very arrangement of the words the wandering mazes in which the angels were lost, and how they went back and forwards from one insoluble question to another. At the same time the repetition of the terms with epithets added makes the reader's mind dwell upon the subjects of discussion, and so suggests the deep thought with which they were pondered. For a similar repetition of nouns with epithets added see iii. 67; for the reverse repetition, *The Ancient Mariner*, Part 4. l. 27, and Hood's "Seam and gusset and band, band and gusset and seam." In iii. 80-134 Milton through the mouth of the Deity discusses the difficult questions here referred to, and attempts to show how God's exact foreknowledge of the future can be compatible with the free will of his creatures.

561. **wandering mazes**, mazes in which the mind wanders. This is an instance of hypallage like the common expressions 'waking hours,' 'happy hours,' *i.e.* the hours in which one is awake or happy. Compare also 'safe shore,' l. 310.

563. **final** must be understood as qualifying 'happiness' as well as 'misery.' Final happiness, according to the Epicureans, was the ultimate good, the final object aimed at by all our actions, the end to which all other goods are only means. See *P. R.* iii. 211. To discover this highest good was the chief aim of ancient moral philosophy. Final misery must mean the most perfect misery, the opposite of final happiness.

564. **apathy**, freedom from passion, which was aimed at by the Stoics as the most perfect state of well-being. This Greek philosophic term means a state of mind like the Nirvana of Buddhism.

565. **Vain wisdom.** See l. 147, and notice the sympathetic description given in the following lines of the power of philosophy, which is nevertheless condemned as false and vain. The contrast shows clearly that the poet's mind was divided against itself when he weighed philosophy in the balance.

572. **if...perhaps** (Lat. *si forte*) to see whether by any possibility.

577–581. These five lines give the derivations of the names of the four rivers of hell from four Greek roots meaning hate, sorrow, lamentation, and fire.

581. **torrent** probably means here 'rushing rapidly,' which is the sense the word has in the three other passages of Milton's poetry in which it occurs. Keightley suggests that it also includes the

meaning of burning (Lat. *torreo*, to burn), which is generally expressed by 'torrid.' See i. 297; ii. 904.

583. **Lethe** is a Greek word meaning oblivion or forgetfulness, and is the name given in Greek mythology to a river in hell, the waters of which made the dead forget all that had happened in their lives. Milton seems at first to have intended the lake of fire to correspond to the Greek Lethe (see i. 266. ii. 74); but he here introduces the Greek river by name, and describes it as flowing at a distance from the lake. Thus, in the hell of *Paradise Lost*, we have both a lake of forgetfulness and a river of forgetfulness.

592. **that Serbonian bog.** Lake Serbonis between Mount Casius and the city of Damiata in Egypt was sometimes so full of loose sand, as to be indistinguishable from dry land; 'wherefore,' says Diodorus Siculus, 'many of those who were ignorant of the peculiarity of the place lost their way and disappeared with their whole armies.'

595. **frore**, an old form of the participle 'frozen.' Virgil speaks of extreme cold burning like fire, and Newton quotes from *Ecclus.* xlii., 'when the cold north wind bloweth, it devoureth the mountains, and burneth the wilderness, and consumeth the grass as fire.' It is also a Hindustani idiom to speak of frost burning. The resemblance between the effects of great cold and great heat is a good example of the proverb that extremes meet.

596. **harpy-footed**, with crooked talons such as were attributed in Greek mythology to the ravenous winged monsters called 'harpies.'

597. **At certain revolutions**, at regularly recurring times; see 603. After enduring for a fixed period the punishment of fire, they would be taken to bear the extremes of cold, and again, after another fixed period, would be taken back to the fire, and so on for ever.

600. **starve** expresses the painful effects either of extreme cold or of extreme hunger. Here it is used in the former sense, as also in iv. 769. Dante and other writers of the middle ages had already represented the damned as punished by extremes of cold, as well as extremes of heat. Milton no doubt has in his mind the well known lines of Shakespeare in *Measure for Measure*, where Claudio contemplates the possibility of the spirit after death being condemned

> 'To bathe in fiery floods, or to reside
> In thrilling regions of thick ribbed ice.'

601. **ethereal warmth.** According to Aristotle, animals are composed of the four ordinary elements (earth, air, fire, and water), and of the fifth and highest element, the aether; which,

he says, besides being the substance of minds and of the stars, is the cause of animal heat.

604. **sound**, a narrow piece of water, perhaps connected with the verb 'sound,' meaning 'measure the depth of water with a lead and line.'

605. **their sorrow to augment.** In iii. 525 also we have an instance of the ingenious aggravation of pain by the close prospect of blissful escape, which seems almost within reach. Such refinement of torture is more in accordance with the sternness of the middle ages than with the sentiments of our time.

606. **as they pass**, while crossing the river in the ferry boat.

609. **and so near the brink.** 'Brink' is here used in a rather peculiar sense, not of the edge of the water where it touches the land, but of the outermost part of the water nearest to one in a boat looking down from above, that is, the surface of the water.

The elliptical sentence 'and so near the brink' places before our imagination the close proximity of the damned to the water of forgetfulness in order to emphasize the bitterness of their disappointment and excite our pity. Similarly when the death of any promising young person is discussed, some one is not unlikely to remark 'And so young too,' the meaning of which remark, if expressed at full, would be, 'And he was so young that our pity and astonishment cannot but be increased by the thought of his youth.' Compare also Lear's sad reflection on the supposed undutifulness of his daughter—

'So young and so untender,'

which admits of the same interpretation, though it is usually treated as a question addressed to Cordelia.

Dr. Bradshaw supposes 'brink' to be nominative absolute, but it seems simpler to make it an objective case governed by 'near.'

611. The **Gorgon Medusa**, according to Greek mythology, was a woman who had serpents clustered round her head instead of hair, and whose face was so terrible that every one who looked upon it was turned into stone.

It is strange to find that hell and chaos are conceived by a Christian poet as full of the monsters of Greek mythology (l. 628), that the souls in accordance with Greek ideas have to be ferried over the river of Lethe (l. 604), although the name of the grim ferryman (Charon) is not mentioned, and that the Greek mythological rivers Styx, Acheron, Cocytus, and Phlegethon are found flowing through the hell of *Paradise Lost*. Milton found it convenient to introduce into his description of hell some details derived from Homer and Virgil his great epic predecessors, and would no doubt have justified his practice by the convenient

theory that Greek mythology was a distortion of the truth revealed by the Bible, with this important difference, that those who were really devils were honoured as gods by the Greeks. See i. 508–521.

614. **Tantalus**, according to Greek mythology, was punished in hell by continual hunger and thirst, aggravated by the constant sight of a rich banquet and pure water, which slipped away from him whenever he tried to reach them. From 'Tantalus' is derived the verb 'tantalize.'

616. **shuddering horror.** By hypallage the epithet is transferred from the horror-stricken angels to the horror they feel. This transference is commonest in cases of personification, as 'Laughter holding both his sides,' 'youthful Jollity,' and 'wrinkled Care' in *L'Allegro*.

617. **Viewed first**, surveyed for the first time the melancholy region allotted to them.

620. **Alp**, a great mountain. The Alps in Switzerland are the highest mountains in Europe. See l. 939.

621. Dr. Greenwood remarks that this 'rough verse, which necessarily takes up so much time and labour in pronouncing,' helps to impress upon us the difficulty and tediousness of the journey. It is natural to read the line slowly, because a pause has to be made after each item in the long enumeration, and a heavy accent falls on each of the monosyllabic nouns, though 'rocks,' 'lakes,' and 'bogs,' occupy places in the verse usually unaccented. For a similar instance of onomatopoeia, that is of what Pope calls the sound being echo to the sense, see l. 948.

623. **for evil only good**, only fertile for the production of evil objects. Milton here employs the figure of oxymoron (see l. 142), of which we have two more instances in the following line.

624. **life dies, death lives.** Here Milton seems to be borrowing from Fletcher's *Locustae* (see Introduction, p. xv.), in which we find *Mors vivit, moriturque inter mala mille superstes vita*, *i.e.* death lives, and life, surviving amidst a thousand evils, dies.

628. It is doubtful whether the nouns in this line are objects governed by 'breeds' in l. 624, or by 'feigned' and 'conceived' in l. 627. The Chimaera was a fire-breathing animal, part lion, part goat, and part dragon. The Hydra was a water serpent destroyed by Hercules. For 'Gorgons' see l. 611.

630. **Satan** is a Hebrew word meaning 'adversary.'

631. In the *Iliad* Hermes is represented as actually binding on his feet winged sandals (*Il.* xxiv. 340). Here we must imagine Satan as providing himself with wings for his journey in accordance with the powers of transformation ascribed to the angels throughout the poem. See i. 789, 423–430.

634. **shaves**, just touches.

636. **As when**, etc. Milton uses the largest possible comparisons to describe the power and size of the angels. Bentley thought that a man-of-war would have been a more fitting object of comparison than a fleet; but, as we have been already told that the mast of the tallest ship would have been like a wand in comparison with Satan's spear, our idea of his stature would have been made smaller by the simile, if he had been compared to only one ship.

637. **Hangs in the clouds.** Sometimes near the horizon sea and sky are indistinguishable, so that objects in the sea seem to be hanging in the clouds.

equinoctial winds, winds blowing along the equator or equinoctial line; that is, the trade-winds which blow within 30° north and south of that line. The equator is called the equinoctial line (Lat. *aequus*, equal, and *nox*, night), because, when the sun is above the equator, night and day are equal all over the world. Equinoctial gales or winds would in ordinary contexts mean the strong winds that prevail at about the time of the vernal and autumnal equinoxes.

638. **Close sailing**, sailing close to the wind, that is, almost straight against the wind. This interpretation makes the simile more expressive, as Satan's progress was terribly laborious, and agrees with 'stemming' in l. 642, which expresses motion against opposing force. Keightley, on the ground that Milton is not familiar with nautical terms, thinks that the ships are described as sailing close together, so that they would appear as one whole and so be more like the single person who is compared to them.

639. **Ternate and Tidore**, two of the Molucca islands famous for the production of spices.

640. **the trading flood**, the part of the ocean over which the trade-winds blow, and which is therefore the thoroughfare of ships sailing to and from the East.

642. **stemming nightly towards the pole.** 'To understand this, we must remember that ships coming from the East Indies towards the Cape of Good Hope have the great Aethiopian sea open to the south of them, and generally, for fear of falling in with the land during the night, by reason of the great currents that run in these seas from the South Pole, they keep off to sea towards the south. Therefore, as Milton justly expresses it, they are obliged in this course to *stem* those currents which set from south to north.' This note is quoted by Professor Masson from Callander's MS. Notes on Paradise Lost.

646. **adamantine.** Adamant is an imaginary substance often

spoken of by the poets, and especially by Milton, as a type of impenetrable hardness.

647. **impaled**, surrounded as with a paling or fence. The word is appropriate in the context, as the gates of castles used to be defended by outworks consisting of palisades (See *Ivanhoe*, chap. xxix). The gate of Hell, instead of a wooden palisade, had a barrier of flames.

654. **A cry**, a pack of dogs. In hunting phraseology, when hounds show by their barking that they are following the scent, they are said to be in full cry.

655. **Cerberean mouths**, mouths like those of Cerberus, the three-headed dog of Pluto.

660. Scylla, according to Greek mythology, was a monster living on a rock on the Italian side of the Straits of Messina. On the Sicilian side was Charybdis. As it was very difficult for a ship to steer safely through the Straits without falling into the clutches of one of these monsters, the expression to steer between Scylla and Charybdis means to escape dangers, which threaten from opposite quarters in such a way, that if you escape the one, you are in danger of encountering the other. See l. 1019.

661. The harsh sound of the word 'Trinacrian' is probably intended to imitate the hoarse roaring of the waves on the coast of Sicily (Trinacria).

662. **the night-hag**, the witch flying by night. Witches were supposed to ride through the air on broom sticks, and to affect the moon by their charms, *i.e.* incantations, which were believed to be powerful enough even to cause eclipses. For a passage referring to the influence, not of witches but of fairies, over the moon see l. 784.

666. **The other Shape**. No better instance could be given to support the contrast made by Macaulay between the exact details of Dante and the 'dim intimations of Milton,' than this description of Death. Milton first calls Death a shape. But in case even this vague word should suggest too definite a picture, he destroys its effect by using the figure of oxymoron, and telling us that the shape was shapeless. Farther on, instead of simply saying that the monster had a crown on its head, he prefers to say that it had something like a crown on something like a head. The vagueness of the description of Death is kept up in x. 279, where it is called a 'grim feature.'

670. **each seemed either**, when regarded as a shadow it looked like a substance, and when regarded as a substance it looked like a shadow, that is to say, it was difficult to determine whether it was a shadow or a substance.

672. **his**, probably the neuter possessive, as the neuter pronoun

'it' has twice been used of Death in the immediately preceding lines.

678. This is an instance of a common Miltonic confusion. As God and His Son were not created things, they cannot be regarded as exceptions to the statement in the following line. What is really meant is that he feared no created thing, and nothing at all except God and His Son. A similar exception, not to what is stated, but to what is in the writer's mind, will be found in l. 336.

683. **miscreated**, deformed, hideous. 'Miscreated' from 'miss' and 'create,' must not be confused with 'miscreant,' a quite different word, derived from French *mescreant* (disbelieving), although, as they are both terms of abuse, there is some similarity in their meaning.

685. **That be assured**, be assured of that. Here the preposition is left out after a passive verb, just as it is left out in l. 410 after an intransitive verb, because the sense easily suggests a transitive verb in the active voice. 'Be assured' suggests 'know for a certainty.'

686. **thy folly**, the results of thy folly. Here the cause is put for the effect, as flowers perhaps means perfumes in l. 245.

693. **Conjured**, joined by oath in a conspiracy. 'Conjure' is here used in the ordinary sense of the Latin *conjuro*, conspire.

697. **Hell-doomed**, condemned to imprisonment in hell. This is Death's retort to 'Hell-born' in l. 687. Satan had said that Death was Hell-born, and therefore unfit to contend with spirits of Heaven. Death replies that the argument does not apply to the present case, as Satan is Hell-doomed, and can therefore no longer be regarded as a spirit of Heaven.

698. **to enrage thee more**, I say this in order to enrage thee more. Death, in order to gall Satan more, not only calls himself a king, but also claims Satan as one of his subjects. In the next line a strong emphasis must be laid on the word 'thy.'

700. **to thy speed add wings**, increase the speed of thy flight by using not only thy legs but also thy wings. Compare l. 631, where Satan commencing his journey is said to 'put on swift wings.' It is however possible, that in both passages the words, though applied to a winged angel, may be not literal, but metaphorical, as Virgil speaking of Cacus, who was not a winged creature, says that 'fear added wings to his feet' (*Aeneid*, viii. 224), merely meaning that he went very fast under the influence of fear.

701. **scorpion** is the name given in the Bible to a severe kind of scourge. When Solomon's son came to the throne, he offended his subjects by declaring that, whereas his father had chastised them with whips, he would chastise them with scorpions, from

which it is evident that scorpions were much crueller than ordinary whips.

705. **tenfold.** Milton having in ll. 666-676 used the most powerful language to describe the horror of the apparition of Death, now makes a further call on our imagination by telling us that, when he threatened Satan, he became ten times as horrible as he was before. For this characteristic of Milton's descriptions compare the effect of 'in loose array' (887), and 'but a wand,' i. 294.

707. **Incensed** (Lat. *incendo*, to burn) expresses both his state of mind and also his appearance when he *burned* like a comet, l. 708, so that the word combines its literal and metaphorical meanings.

709. **Ophiuchus** is a constellation in the northern hemisphere.

711. As comets were supposed to foretell war and pestilence, the simile represents not only Satan's splendour, but also his baneful power.

712. **their fatal hands**, etc., each of them expects that his first blow will utterly destroy his enemy, and that a second blow will not be required.

715. **rattling** expresses the sound of thunder which accompanies the advance of the two clouds.

722. **so great a foe.** The great foe they were doomed eventually to meet and be vanquished by was Christ.

723. **whereof all Hell had rung**, the fame of which would have been loudly celebrated through the length and breadth of hell. Compare Sonnet, xxii. 12.

725. **Fast by**, close to, as in i. 12.

729. **bend**, aim. 'Bend' comes to have this meaning either because a bow is bent when aimed, or because a missile aimed at any object has generally to be turned or deflected from its previous direction. 'Bend' is used similarly in such phrases as bend one's way, bend one's steps towards a point specified.

mortal, causing death, deadly. Cf. l. 74.

730. **And know'st**, and (thou) knowest for whom, *i.e.* although thou knowest whom thou wilt serve thereby. Milton's frequent omission of pronominal subjects is an instance of his imitation of the usages of the Latin language, in which the person of a verb is sufficiently expressed by the inflection, and pronouns need not be used. This ellipse occurs most often, when in English there is an inflection left as a relic of the pronominal suffix. Thus here the suffix 'st' is the representative of the original Indo-Germanic pronominal element 'tva,' which appears in more or less corrupted forms as the suffix of the second person singular in the Latin *dedis-ti*, Greek δίδω-θι, and Sanskrit *dadi-tha*.

738. **my sudden hand.** Sudden is generally applied to something transitory that comes unexpectedly into existence, such as an event, a feeling, or an action (i. 665). Here it is used of a permanent object suddenly employed. Milton uses the adjective in a similar sense when he speaks of the 'apples of Asphaltis appearing goodly to the sudden eye.' The harshness of the use of the adjective in these two passages is lessened by the fact that 'hand' and 'eye' suggest 'blow' and 'glance,' words meaning actions.

Perhaps 'sudden' is used as an adverb, like 'hasty' in i. 730, in which case 'my sudden hand prevented' means 'my hand suddenly prevented,' and we must compare Virgil *Aen.* xii. 682, "Alitis in parvae subitam collecta figuram."

739. **spares,** forbears.

742. **first met,** although I never met thee before our present meeting.

758. Here Milton imitates the account given in Greek mythology of the birth of Athene (Minerva), who is said to have sprung forth clad in armour from the brain of Zeus (Juppiter). He probably intends us to regard this as the basis of fact underlying the Greek fable. Cf. his treatment of the story of Vulcan's fall in i. 740.

768. **fields,** battle-fields, battles, as in 292.

769. **For what could else?** What else could have happened? Such a result was inevitable.

772. **pitch** may mean either the lowest depth, as in *Samson Agonistes* 169, where Samson is described as fallen 'to lowest pitch of abject fortune,' or, as in this passage and in xi. 693, the greatest height.

788. **Hell trembled.** This is another instance of the pathetic fallacy.

789. **resound,** properly an intransitive verb (see i. 579) is here used transitively. Perhaps Milton is imitating Virgil's use of *resonare* in the familiar line, *Formosam resonare doces Amaryllida silvas.* Compare l. 920.

801. **conscious terrors,** terrors of which I am conscious. So conscious guilt means guilt of which a person is conscious. The adjective 'conscious' is properly applied to the person who feels a feeling, not to that which causes the feeling. Similar transferences of epithets from the conscious being to the cause which affects the consciousness will be found in ll. 74, 186, and i. 266.

803. **opposition** is an astrological term meaning the position of two heavenly bodies on opposite sides of the earth and forming a straight line with the earth. As such a position indicated hostility between the two heavenly bodies so situated, this passage represents Death as exerting a baneful influence over Sin. According to Keightley's interpretation of the allegory, the yelling

monsters are the mental torments that are the consequences of sin, and they are said to be set on by Death because the idea of death intensifies the sinner's mental torments.

814. **Save He, etc.,** save that he who reigns above can resist it. This is the converse of the irregularity noticed in i. 490. There 'than,' properly a conjunction, was used as a preposition: here 'save,' which is ordinarily employed as a preposition, is used as a conjunction, and therefore 'He' is in the nominative case as subject of a verb to be understood. Sometimes this usage of 'save' followed by a nominative is explained by regarding 'save' as a passive participle forming a nominative absolute with the nouns or pronouns following. See Abbott's *Shakespearian Grammar*, § 118, where several instances of this construction are quoted from Shakespeare. The preposition or conjunction 'save' is however more commonly supposed to have originally been the imperative of an active verb.

815. **his lore Soon learned,** soon learned his lesson, namely, that it was advisable to address Sin courteously and acknowledge her as his daughter.

Smooth, smoothly, mildly. See ll. 302, 558. The use of these adjectival forms as adverbs is due to the existence of an Old English adverb ending in a suffix 'e,' which was dropt in the course of time.

825. **pretences** originally meant true or false claims. In modern English the word suggests falseness.

827. **errand** is cognate accusative after 'go.

uncouth is derived from *un* (not) and *cuth*, the past participle of the A.S. *cunnan*, to know. Thus the original meaning of the word is 'unknown,' from which naturally come the later meanings 'horrible,' 'ugly,' and 'clumsy.' In this line 'uncouth' seems to mean both 'unknown' and 'horrible.' We have seen before (l. 707) that the poet is fond of taking advantage of the double meanings of ambiguous words, so as to express much in few words.

829. **unfounded,** bottomless. The word is now used metaphorically, as when we speak of unfounded hopes.

830. **a place foretold Should be.** This must be explained like 'undetermined square or round' in l. 1048, as the passive form of the construction used in l. 990 and in i. 376, 611. In accordance with the construction used in these passages the verb if active governs two objects, a noun and a noun clause. In the passive form of the same construction the verb will have the noun as subject and the noun clause will be appended loosely as a further explanation of the meaning. Satan might have said 'Some one foretold the place (*i.e.*, the existence of the place) that

it should be,' or '(The existence of) the place was foretold, that it should be.' According to the latter form he can describe the new world as 'a place foretold (that it) should be.' The transformation is just the same as that by which 'I teach him his lessons' becomes in the passive 'He is taught his lessons by me.'

search, look for.

831. **by**, as is evident from.

833. Understand 'and (to search) a race placed therein.'

835. **more removed**, placed at a greater distance. 'Removed' agrees with 'race' in the preceding line.

842. **Wing**, traverse with wings.

buxom, derived from the A.S. *bûgan*, to bow, is here used in its original sense and means yielding, offering slight resistance. In modern English 'buxom' is an epithet applied generally to women whose good looks indicate the possession of health and liveliness.

846. **smile** is a cognate accusative after 'grinned.'

847. **blessed his maw**, looked upon his belly as fortunate.

850. **by due**, by right.

853. **adamantine**. See l. 646.

855. In this line the first and second editions read 'might,' the third 'wight.' Bentley objected to 'might' on the ground that it would make Death not even fear God, and preferred 'wight' which means creature and would not include God.

868. **The gods who live at ease.** As Richardson remarks, Sin not unnaturally accepts the Epicurean idea, that the gods live a life of perfect happiness untroubled by the superintendence of the universe or any other labour. The use of the plural 'gods' may be explained partly on the ground that she ascribes divinity to the angels, who, as we have seen (l. 391), partake of the divine nature, and may be partly due to Milton's tendency to speak in the language of the polytheistic epic poems of Greece and Rome, which he adopts as his models. See l. 28.

873. **her bestial train.** The word train, which may mean the tail of a bird, the hinder part of a lady's dress trailing on the ground, or anything else dragged behind, is here used of the lower snaky part of Sin's body (see l. 651) which would trail along the ground behind her as she moved.

874. A **portcullis** is a strong grating of iron or wood to protect a gate in front. It is kept suspended when the gate is open, and can be let down at any moment if danger threatens.

875. This line is an allegorical statement of the fact that, if a man abstains from sin, the power of Satan and all his angels is unable to take him to Hell.

877. The trisyllabic first foot with its accent on the middle syllable is intended by its sound to express the slow motion of the great key through the complicated maze of the lock. The wards are either the obstacles in a lock which are intended to obstruct the motion of the key of any other lock, or the notches in the key corresponding to those obstacles. The latter sense suits the present passage, as the wards are here said to be *turned* through the lock. The wards in the former sense of the word remain stationary when the key is turned.

879. All through this passage the sound is intended to be the echo of the sense. The full stop near the beginning of this line raises in the reader's mind a feeling of suspense, while the rapid movement of the end of the line represents the sudden and startling effect of the turning of the key.

882. **thunder** is a cognate object governed by 'grate.'

885. Notice how the immense width of the gates is shown. An army could pass through without drawing in its wings to the main body, and 'in loose array,' that is, without arraying the soldiers of the various regiments in close order. The words 'under spread ensigns marching' may be regarded as merely a picturesque embellishment of the illustration. The fact that the army had not to lower their flags gives no adequate impression of the height of the gates, when compared with their immense width.

889. **redounding** is here used in the literal sense of the Lat. *redundo*, to overflow. In modern English the commonest use of the verb is metaphorical in the phrase 'it redounds to his credit.'

891. **hoary** seems to suggest the immense antiquity of chaos, which existed before Heaven and Earth were created. See i. 10.

892. **without bound** is only the Saxon equivalent of illimitable, and so adds nothing to the meaning. For similar tautologies see i. 556, ii. 355.

893. **Without dimension**, without length, breadth, and height, the three dimensions of solid bodies.

898. **Hot, Cold, Moist, and Dry** are the four elementary qualities supposed to be combined in pairs in the four elements. Thus fire is hot and dry, air hot and moist, water cold and moist, earth cold and dry.

900. Here Milton is following the atomic theory, according to which the universe is composed of an infinite number of atoms varying in shape and weight. The atomic philosophers thought that the fortuitous concourse of these atoms sufficiently explained the origin of the universe, while Milton of course represents them as arranged by the wisdom and power of the Creator.

904. **Barca** and **Cyrene** were Greek colonial cities on the north of Africa, between Alexandria and Carthage.

905. **Levied**, connected with Fr. *lever*, to raise. The poet combines the ordinary with the derivative meaning of 'levy.' The sands are literally raised from the ground by the wind, and as they increase by their weight the destructive force of the blast, they are regarded as troops raised or levied by the wind as allies.

poise (O. Fr. *poiser*, to weigh) here means to add weight. The wings of the wind would otherwise be lighter, but are rendered heavier and more destructive by the presence of the sand, just as a wooden club if loaded with metal can deliver a more deadly blow.

909. **By which he reigns.** Chaos is said to be secured in his sovereignty by this war of the elementary qualities, because, if any one of them were to gain decided superiority, order would thereby be substituted for chaos or disorder.

911. Here Milton hints at the possibility of the world once more being dissolved into the chaos out of which it was originally produced. See i. 10.

912. In Chaos there is nothing so definite as the four elements, water (sea), shore (earth), air, and fire, but only their potential causes, a confused mixture of the elementary qualities and the atoms, which might, if the Creator willed, be used as second causes in the production of new worlds.

917. **Into this wild Abyss.** See note on l. 280.

920. **peal**, which ordinarily is an intransitive verb meaning 'sound loudly,' here is used transitively, and means 'fill with loud sounds.' Cf. the use of 'resound' in l. 789.

922. **Bellona**, the goddess of war.

927. **vans**, wings. The word 'van' has the same meaning and ultimately the same derivation from the L. *vannus* as the commoner 'fan.' Wings can naturally be called vans or fans (see vii. 476), as they agitate the air in much the same way. Compare 'fanned with unnumbered plumes,' vii. 432.

933. **pennons** is Milton's spelling of 'pinions.' 'Pennon,' which, like 'pinion,' is a derivative of the Latin *penna* (a feather), in ordinary usage means a small flag, not as here a wing. Satan's wings fluttered vainly, because in the void there was nothing to offer them resistance.

plumb down, straight down. The adverb 'plumb' is derived from the Lat. *plumbum*, lead, because a string with a piece of lead attached is used to test whether anything is exactly perpendicular.

937. '**Instinct**, *i.e.* inflamed; the opposite of extinct.'—Keightley.

938. **That fury stay'd**, the furiously rapid motion of this rising cloud having abated. Hume supposes that 'quenched' as well as 'stayed' goes with 'fury,' that the fury of the cloud was 'quenched and put out by a soft quicksand.' But it is more natural to regard Satan, than the cloud that bore him up, as retarded by the quicksand. The verb 'quench' is commonly used of the extinguishing of fire; and therefore Satan, who is compared in l. 1013 to a pyramid of fire, may not unnaturally be described here as quenched in the quicksand, in which he was well nigh engulfed.

Syrtis, the name of an African quicksand celebrated in classical literature, is here used as a class name for 'quicksand,' just as 'Alp' in l. 620 means 'mountain.'

940. **nigh foundered**, nearly engulfed, like a ship in distress. 'Founder' is used in a somewhat different sense in i. 204.

942. **behoves him now**, etc., it is incumbent on him both to use oars and sails, that is, according to a Latin idiom, to proceed with might and main. 'Oar' and 'sail' are probably infinitives of intransitive verbs, and not nouns.

943. According to a story in Herodotus, gold was obtained in the north of Europe by a one-eyed people called the Arimaspians, who stole it from the griffins. Pliny repeats the story, and mentions the difficulty the Arimaspians had in stealing the gold from the fierce birds.

948-950. Here, as in l. 621, the natural pauses after each item in the enumerations help to express the slow laborious progress of the Fiend.

951. **hubbub** is an onomatopoetic word for a confused noise.

964. **Orcus** and **Ades** (usually and more correctly spelt Hades) are respectively the Latin and Greek names of the ruler of Hell in classical mythology, who is usually called Pluto. Milton here speaks of them as two distinct persons.

the dreaded name Of Demogorgon, Demogorgon, whose name is dreadful. Similarly in vi. 355, the 'might of Gabriel' means the mighty Gabriel. In a passage from his prose works quoted by Newton, Milton says that Demogorgon was described by the most ancient mythological writers as the ancestor of all the gods, and the father of earth. The name of this mysterious demon or divinity was 'dreaded,' because it was supposed to have tremendous power in incantations.

973. **Wandering this desert**, wandering through this desert. 'Wander' is treated as a transitive verb because it suggests the transitive verb 'traverse.' See l. 410.

977. **Confine with,** border on.

980. **profound** (abyss). Here 'profound' is used as a noun. Cf. l. 438.

981. **Directed,** etc., my course directed, *i.e.* the direction of my course brings no mean recompense, you will be well rewarded for directing my course by the advantages you will gain through the completion of my journey.

984. **her.** 'Region' is given the gender of its Latin form. Cf. i. 592.

985. **Which is my present journey,** which, namely the reduction of the lost region to your sway, is the effect that will result from or the object of my journey. This is an instance of the identification of cause and effect. We have already seen this common identification exemplified in the use of abstract for concrete in i. 406. Owing to the same natural confusion Dryden calls a deadly arrow a 'feathered death,' and Wordsworth, addressing Duty, says, 'Thou that art victory,' meaning that Duty is the cause of victory in moral struggles.

988. **Anarch.** On the analogy of 'monarch' and 'monarchy,' Milton forms from 'anarchy' the word 'anarch,' to express a ruler in a state of utter confusion and lawlessness.

990. Here the verb 'know' has two objects, the pronoun 'thee' and the noun sentence 'who thou art.' See i. 376, ii. 572.

992. **Made head against,** offered resistance to.

though overthrown. 'Overthrown' agrees with 'who,' and therefore strictly speaking the sentence ought to mean that Satan was already overthrown at the time when he rose in rebellion. Of course the meaning really intended is that Satan offered resistance to God for some time, though he was *ultimately* overthrown.

994. **frighted Deep.** For other instances of the pathetic fallacy see i. 543; ii. 788.

996. **Confusion worse confounded,** terrible confusion. This is a pleonastic expression like Shakespeare's 'make assurance doubly sure.'

1000. **so to defend** is a final clause, showing the purpose with which the Anarch then resided on his frontiers. He took his post there, in order that so (by so doing, *i.e.* by taking his post there) he might defend the remains of his dominions. The conditional clause 'if all I can will serve' expresses parenthetically a doubt as to whether all he can do will be of any use for the defence of his realms. If this rendering is accepted, the semicolon after 'residence' in l. 999 should be changed into a comma, and a comma should be inserted after 'serve' at the end of the same line. If the ordinary punctuation is retained, then 'to defend' goes with 'serve,' and 'so' must still be interpreted as above, though it is in this case redundant and clumsily ambiguous owing to the

conditional clause in which it is placed having as subject not 'I' but 'all.' Further, as the position of Chaos is a fact and does not depend upon the condition mentioned, we must suppose an ellipse of a clause mentioning the purpose aimed at, the fulfilment of which does really depend on the condition. Thus the whole meaning would be, 'I keep residence here (in order to defend my realms), if all my efforts will serve to defend the little still left.' All these complications are avoided by making 'so to defend' depend directly upon the principal sentence.

1001. The editions published in the poet's lifetime and all subsequent editions read 'our,' until Pearce altered it into 'your.' Certainly the new reading, which is generally accepted, gives better sense. If the true reading is nevertheless 'our,' we must either regard Chaos as counting himself among the heavenly beings whose dissensions led to the creation of hell and earth, or suppose that Chaos was so confused in his ideas, that he thought that the disorder to which he owed his sovereignty (l. 909) really weakened his power, and that Milton intends us to regard him as on this account trying in solemn earnest in l. 908 by his decisions to put an end to it. The last interpretation is not utterly out of the question. The whole speech seems intended to exemplify by the confusion of its language and ideas the discomposure (l. 989) of the old Anarch. Prof. Masson reads 'our.'

1002. **Hell** is a subject without a verb. We must understand 'came into existence,' or some such words with Hell here, and also with Heaven and Earth in l. 1004, unless 'hung' in that line is a past tense, in which case we must understand from 'hung' another verb to go with 'Hell' according to the figure of speech called zeugma. See i. 393.

1004. Milton generally distinguishes between Heaven the abode of God and the World or Universe with Earth in its centre, a later creation made for man. In this line however Heaven and Earth together make up the newly created Universe as opposed to Heaven in l. 1006, the 'empyreal Heaven' (l. 1047) of God and His angels. The use of 'Heaven' in opposite senses in one sentence is not conducive to clearness.

1005. **Hung** is probably a passive participle, and not the past tense of the intransitive verb 'hang.'

1008. **So much the nearer danger**, you have all the shorter distance to go to reach your dangerous destination.

speed. This is a wish for Satan's success. Compare the expression 'to wish one god-speed or good-speed.'

1011. **his sea should find a shore**, his journey should bring him to his destination like a ship that after a long voyage at last makes land. 'His sea' was Chaos, which was to him as a sea is to the ship that sails through it.

1013. 'To take in the full meaning of this magnificent similitude, we must imagine ourselves in Chaos, and a vast luminous body rising upward, near the place where we are, so swiftly as to appear a continued track of light, and lessening to the view according to the increase of distance, till it end in a point and then disappear; and all this must be supposed to strike our eye at one instant.'—*Beattie.*

1017. In Greek mythology it is related how Argo, the first large Greek ship, past through the Symplegades, the Greek name of which Milton translates 'justling rocks.' These rocks were in the Euxine, near the entrance of the Bosporus, and the passage between them was so narrow that they actually seemed to dash against one another. The story of the Argo's passage through them is graphically told in Morris's 'Life and Death of Jason.'

1019. **on the larboard**, on the left hand side. The right hand side of a ship is called the starboard. As Charybdis was on the right hand of the ship of Ulysses, we must take 'on the larboard' with 'Ulysses,' not with 'Charybdis.' Ulysses steering towards the left or larboard avoided Charybdis, who was on the right or starboard of his ship. Bentley objects to the use of such a distinctly nautical term as 'larboard' in poetry.

1020. **the other Whirlpool**, Scylla. See l. 660. Charybdis and Scylla were mythological personifications of dangerous whirlpools.

1022. The repetition of the words 'with difficulty and labour' is intended to represent vividly to us the continued struggle by making us dwell on the ideas of difficulty and labour. See 560.

1023. **he once passed.** This is a nominative absolute. Milton sometimes uses the nominative absolute and sometimes, as in ix. 130, the dative absolute. Except when the participle goes with a pronoun, it is impossible, owing to the want of inflection, to determine whether a nominative or a dative absolute is intended.

1026. The construction of this causeway is described in x. 282-323.

1038. And Chaos (begins) to retire.

1039. **outmost works**, outworks, fortifications outside the main wall. See l. 647.

1040. This line describes the retreat of Chaos rather than of the broken foe to whom Chaos is compared.

1041. **and now**, and presently. First he experiences less toil, and eventually proceeds with positive ease.

1042. **Wafts**, floats. This is a transitive verb used intransitively.

1043. **holds the port,** remains safe in harbour.

1046. **Weighs his spread wings,** spreads out his wings evenly as a bird does when it is suspended apparently motionless in the air.

1048. **undetermined square and round,** about which we have no means of determining whether it was square or round. In Revelation xxi. 16 it is distinctly said that the New Jerusalem was four-square, and in x. 381 it is assumed that the original heaven had the same shape. But in this passage Milton does not venture to take it for granted that the original heaven was of the same shape as the New Jerusalem of the Apocalypse. In a similar spirit he leaves open the question of the motion of the earth in iv. 592. Keightley thinks that Satan, owing to the immense extent of heaven, could not discern the shape of heaven from the portion presented to his eye.

In this line the participle 'undetermined,' which would more naturally be made to agree with the noun sentence expressing the doubtful question, agrees instead with 'heaven,' the object about which there was doubt. This is the passive form of the construction exemplified in l. 990, where the poet, if he had wished to use the passive voice, might have written 'Thou art known who thou art.' By adopting this construction here Milton avoids the necessity of breaking his sentence by such a parenthesis as 'Whether it was round or square is undetermined.' A similar construction with an adjective instead of a passive participle will be found in iii. 76. Both passages are evidently modelled on the use of *ambiguus* and *incertus* in Latin, *e.g.* 'Italicos incertos socii an hostes essent' (the Italians about whom it could not be determined whether they were friends or enemies.) Livy, 30, 35. Compare also l. 830, and Scott's *Marmion*, 3. II. 5, 6, where we read of a cautious lady who

> 'Dreaded her castle to unclose
> So late to *unknown friends or foes.*'

1050. **living,** lively (xi. 242), vivid, intense, bright. In iv. 605, if the original reading is correct, the stars are called living sapphires. Tennyson very often expresses brilliant colour by the words 'living' and 'lively,' as

> 'Till lost in yonder living blue
> The lark becomes a sightless sound.'

1052. **World,** universe, not the earth only but the whole universe, the Heaven and Earth of l. 1004. The immense size of the empyreal Heaven is illustrated by the fact that in comparison with it the whole world looked no bigger than a very small star looks beside the moon.

APPENDIX.

Instances of Figures of Speech, etc., in Paradise Lost, Books I. and II.

[The following lists of instances do not profess to be exhaustive. Students should add such other examples as they may discover for themselves in the course of their reading.]

Abstract used as concrete nouns, i. 285, 406, 433, 593; ii. 457.

Adjectives, applicable in their usual sense to the object affected, agreeing with the affecting cause, i. 2, 183, 266; ii. 74, 729.

Adjectives used as adverbs, ii. 159, 302, 558, 816, 846.

Adjectives used as nouns—

(*a*) Agreeing with concrete nouns understood, i. 71, 297, 521; ii. 83, 406, 409, 438, 948, 980.

(*b*) Used, like Greek and Latin neuter adjectives, instead of abstract nouns, i. 247; ii. 8, 97, 278.

Chiasmus, reversing the arrangement of words previously observed, ii. 529.

Cognate objects, objects expressing a meaning connected with that of the verb by which they are governed, ii. 491, 827, 846.

Cognate subject of a passive verb, ii. 213.

Confusion of two constructions, i. 629, 683; ii. 40, 333, 336, 413, 678.

Ellipse—

(*a*) Of antecedent, i. 197, 333; ii. 27, 249.

(*b*) Of pronominal subject, ii. 48, 730.

(*c*) Of substantive verb, i. 141, 395, 604; ii. 1044.

Final clause expressing purpose depending on a principal sentence understood, ii. 483, 698.

Grammatical irregularity, i. 139, 490; ii. 299, 495, 814.

Hypallage, transference of an epithet from a noun expressed or understood to another noun with which that noun is closely connected, i. 2, 183, 266, 310, 786; ii. 74, 132, 186, 561, 616, 801.

Hyperbaton, inversion of the natural order of words or sentences, ii. 279, 280, 917, 918.

Identification of cause and effect, i. 406, 433; ii. 457, 985.

Intransitive verbs used transitively—

(*a*) In a causative sense, i. 178, 486; ii. 789, 920.

(*b*) Followed by an object instead of a preposition, because they suggest a transitive verb, i. 521, 774; ii. 223, 410, 443, 973. Passive instances, i. 660.

Nominative absolute, ii. 1023.

Onomatopoeia, imitation of the sense by the sound, i. 202; ii. 621, 661, 877, 933, 948-950.

Oxymoron, verbal contradiction, i. 63, 525; ii. 143, 220, 623, 624, 667.

Paronomasia, juxtaposition of words of similar sound, i. 606, 642.

Participial idiom, in which a noun and a participle are equivalent to a noun expressing an act or event suggested by the participle, i. 573, 636, 798; ii. 22. Compare ii. 234.

Pathetic fallacy, attributing to inanimate objects the feelings of conscious beings, i. 543; ii. 554, 788, 994, 1028.

Prepositions omitted after intransitive verbs. See Intransitive verbs used transitively (*b*).

Repetition of a word or words for the sake of emphasis, i. 509; ii. 560, 678, 1022.

Syllepsis, a word varying its meaning according to the noun with which it goes, i. 502, 681.

Tautology, repetition of the same idea, i. 556; ii. 355, 356, 892, 893.

Technical terms, i. 207, 565, 567, 574; ii. 1019.

Transitive verbs used intransitively, ii. 355, 1042.

APPENDIX.

Verbs governing nouns and noun sentences, i. 376, 605-611; ii. 572, 990. Passive form of same construction, ii. 830, 831, 1048.

Verb used as noun, i. 588.

Words combining two meanings, i. 72, 391, 563; ii. 367, 467, 513, 581, 707, 827, 905.

Words employed in unusual senses according to the meaning of the Latin or other words from which they are derived, i. 46, 124, 235, 391, 563, 690, 774, 785, 797; ii. 9, 156, 184, 234, 241, 337, 346, 367, 467, 513, 528, 693, 827, 829, 889.

Zeugma, joining two nouns to one verb, which only suits one of them but suggests another verb for the other noun, i. 393, 441; ii. 245, 378, 1002.

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